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JOURNAL

OF

BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Volume XXX

Part I

1911

On the Archæological Exploration of Palestine

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, 1910

DAVID G. LYON

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THIS paper is limited to the exploration which is carried on by the excavator. It does not deal with topographical nor geographical studies, except as these may be advanced by the work of the excavator. Not that such studies have by any means exhausted their subject, nor even that much territory does not still remain to be conquered, but the limit set for this paper is necessary in the interest of greater definiteness and fullness, and is demanded by the relative importance of excavation.

Nor in this narrower sense of exploration is it my aim to give primarily a historical sketch, but rather to present along with a condensed review such practical observations as are suggested by the general theme.

Like a large portion of the rest of Western Asia, Palestine is dotted with the sites of ancient human occupation. These sites are mounds, called *tells*, often rising out of the level plain, more often perched on the side or the top of a hill, a natural water supply and a regard to safety determining in most cases the selection of the site.

In size these tells vary from a few hundred feet to a

couple of miles in circumference. To the untrained eye they resemble natural hills, but often a plateau at the top suggests their artificial character. Many of these tells have a history dating from the earliest occupation of the land. Some of the more important have been continuously occupied under the successive masters of the land, while others have been occupied at certain periods only. The history of these occupations is written in the tells in the remains of houses, weapons, ornaments, and utensils, especially pottery. So far as not disturbed by subsequent digging, as in laying house foundations, these remains are deposited in regular strata, varying in thickness with the length and character of the successive occupations. The total accumulation of *débris* varies from a few feet to sixty feet or more.

Many of these tells retain the names of the ancient cities but slightly changed, as Ta'annek, Dôtân, Erikhâ, Anâtâ, Seilun; others are known by translations of the older name, as Tell el-Kadi for Dan; while in some cases the ancient name has been shifted to some spot on or near the tell. In many cases there is no connection between the modern local name and the ancient name of the tell. That is to say, there are many unidentified Biblical sites, and there are many old tells whose ancient names remain unknown. In cases where the natural interest in a place has preserved an unbroken tradition there is, of course, no uncertainty, as in the case of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Samaria, Nazareth, and Tiberias.

The archæological exploration of these tells is subject to natural and artificial limitations.

Such parts of the sites as are occupied by houses still in use, or by cemeteries, can, of course, not be excavated, and where there is a modern village there is sure to be a cemetery beside it. The season for work is the summer, when no rain falls, extending from April to October; but in the Jordan valley, owing to the great heat, only a few weeks in the early spring and the late autumn are really available. The explorer is much hampered by the ignorance, supersti-

tion, and trickery of the natives, who believe that he is digging for treasure, and who invent and circulate for selfish ends the most absurd reports. And while these natives can be trained to efficiency in the use of their own simple utensils, it is very difficult to make them effective users of improved modern tools.

But the greatest obstruction to exploration is the severity of the Turkish law relating to antiquities. Between the application and the granting of permission to excavate the delay may run into years. For a part of this delay the local authorities are responsible, to whom is first submitted the question as to the feasibility of exploration. The permit finally granted, the explorer has to make his terms with the natives, paying them for the olive and other trees which must be cut down, and for the loss in crops during the years of excavation, for all of which the natives have most exaggerated ideas. The explorer must, when his permit expires, restore cultivated lands to a state of cultivation, save in the case of remains too large for removal and too important to cover over again, the damages in this case to be paid to the landowners by the central government. Nothing which is found may be taken away by the explorer, but everything is the property of the government, and must be turned over to the commissioner, to be sent, at the explorer's expense, to the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. These commissioners, one of whom attends each excavation, are functionaries of great importance, and they can do much to further or hinder the success of the explorer.

But in spite of the limitations which I have described, and which apply to all parts of Turkey, the explorer in Palestine has certain compensations not enjoyed by his brother in most other parts of the empire. These come from his proximity to post offices, physicians, and the sources of supply.

Another great compensation comes from his contact with the modern life of the land. In spite of change in government and population, the conditions of life in Palestine to-day are not essentially different from what they were in

the days of Isaiah or Paul. To be a constant observer of the ever varying picture of this life, already familiar from the Bible, is a perpetual charm and source of instruction.

The chief motive which prompts to Palestinian study in all its phases is religious and Biblical. This has been so in the past, is now, and is likely to continue. As the tourist goes to that country for religious quickening or for confirmation and elucidation of the Scriptures, so the student is moved by the same motive.

But along with this is now another strong motive, the scientific, the desire to do for the literature, art, and life of Palestine the same service that archaeology is rendering to the peoples of Rome, Greece, and Egypt. The religious spirit is not necessarily scientific. But the scientific spirit pursues its ends with a devotion as real and as ardent as that exhibited by religion. Indeed, it makes even religion, of every possible form and phase, one of the objects of its investigation.

The scientific spirit, recognizing, as it cannot fail to do, the great rôle played by Palestine in the history of western civilization, especially through the writers, characters, and doctrines of the Bible, shuns no task which may serve to shed fresh light upon this subject. It does not feel that everything is explained by the statement that the Hebrews were the bearers of a special revelation to mankind, or that they were in some way endowed beyond other men for the perception and enforcement of religious truth. It may, indeed, grant both of these claims, and still believe that much remains to be learned as to the method by which these results were achieved. It recognizes that the thought, as well as the outward life of Israel, must have been deeply influenced by preceding and contemporary forces, and is persuaded that we have much to learn from the study of Israel's relations to the contemporary powers. It grants heartily the notion of native endowment, but inquires why such endowment takes a particular form. It does not hope ever to lay bare the secret springs of the nation's life,

but it is convinced that we are far from knowing all that may be learned about them.

The history contained in the Bible is but a fragment, and archæology is sure that exploration will make this fragment more intelligible, and by the discovery of new facts will help us to understand much that is now obscure.

To pass in review with minute details the work which has been done by the excavator in Palestine would on this occasion be tedious and out of place; but a general sketch may not seem inappropriate. Through the society known as the Palestine Exploration Fund, England was for a long time almost alone in the cultivation of this field, though America has been a generous supporter of the society. The work of captains Charles W. Wilson and Charles Warren at Jerusalem; of W. M. Flinders Petrie at Tell el-Hesi; of Frederick J. Bliss at the same spot; of Bliss and Archibald C. Dickie at Jerusalem; of Bliss and R. A. Stewart Macalister at Tell Zakariyah, Tell es-Safi, Tell ej-Judeideh and Tell Sandahannah; and of Macalister at Abu Shusheh, — this work has been fully reported in the Quarterly Statement and in special publications of the society. It has all been confined to Jerusalem, and to the region west and southwest of that city.

The Germans and Austrians were next to enter the field with the excavation of Tell Ta'annek by Ernst Sellin of Vienna; of Tell el-Mutesellim by Gottlieb Schumacher; of Tell Hum and other points in Galilee by the German Orient Society; and of Jericho by Professor Sellin. The last excepted, these places are all in the middle and northern part of the land.

The Americans took up the work in 1908. In this year Harvard University began the exploration of Samaria, with the financial support of the Hon. Jacob H. Schiff. The field director for the first year was Gottlieb Schumacher, and for the second and third years George A. Reisner.

In the most recent years very considerable excavation has been carried on by the Franciscans on their property outside the walls of Jerusalem.

In this review I have not included certain small undertakings, like that of Hermann Guthe at Jerusalem in 1880, nor the illegitimate but widespread exploitation of the tombs by the peasants. This exploitation has brought to light and dissipated great quantities of pottery, ornaments, weapons, and utensils, but the absence of intelligent observers, and the impossibility of gaining reliable information, rob this work almost entirely of scientific value.

Along with these excavations, which began with that of Warren at Jerusalem in 1867, and even antedating them, have gone the splendid work of the travelers, like Edward Robinson and H. V. Guérin, and the great "Survey" conducted by the Palestine Exploration Fund. And there have been founded at Jerusalem three schools for the study of Palestine—that of the Dominicans, with a theological faculty and an excellent Biblical Review; the German Evangelical Institute; and our own School of Oriental Study and Research. These works and these schools are doing much to extend and deepen interest in the study of Palestine, and the schools could by adequate support easily do much more.

But this historical outline of the excavations would be of little moment, if we did not at once proceed to the question, What have we learned by the considerable expenditure of time and money?

This question may be answered from two points of view. In the first place we may compare the results with those obtained by excavation in Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia. In these countries the revelations have been spectacular in the extreme. Great empires, mighty dynasties, with their palaces and temples, their gods and their libraries, their treasures of art and of literature, have risen from the sleep of centuries. Thousands of private persons, with their manners and customs, their costumes and their trade relations, their business and their beliefs, have risen to fullness of life in the valley of dry bones. Hundreds of thousands of books written on materials almost imperishable have yielded up the records committed to their keeping.

All this is so wonderful because only a century ago it was almost entirely unknown to the modern world. Indeed, it would seem to have been but slightly known to what until recent times we had been accustomed to regard as the ancient world ; I mean to the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans. Or if known to them, not much of that knowledge has survived till our own day.

Such revelations of a new world could manifestly not be expected in Palestine, for the reason that we know, in outline at least, the leading characters and movements in Hebrew history, including perhaps the name of every king who sat on the throne of Israel or of Judah. And the fact that different writing material was used in Palestine makes it improbable that archæology can ever reveal the life of the people in such detail as in Babylon and Assyria.

Or the answer to our question as to results may, in the second place, be given without any regard to the astonishing revelations made by the explorer and the decipherer elsewhere. While the yield, viewed on its own merits, will appear modest, it will not seem so modest as it would by the comparisons suggested.

Before going into details let me mention a few discoveries, important for the history of Palestine, made on foreign soil.

The chief of these come from Babylon and Assyria. The statements of Tiglathpileser as to his wars against Israel and Damascus, and of Sennacherib regarding his campaign against Hezekiah, were a most welcome confirmation of the Biblical narrative. Shalmaneser's account of his defeat of Ahab in battle, and of the tribute paid him by Jehu, put us in possession of two facts in Hebrew history otherwise unknown.¹ The Mesha inscription found in Moab, not indeed by excavation but by travel, supplements in a most interesting way the Biblical account of the relations of Moab to Israel in the days of Omri and Ahab, while those cuneiform letters found at El-Amarna in 1887 greatly enlarge our

¹ These are indeed facts of prime importance because they provide the earliest definite dates in Hebrew history.

knowledge of conditions in Palestine at a period slightly antedating the occupation of the land by the Hebrews.

There are few individual discoveries made within the borders of Palestine itself which in importance can compete with those just mentioned.

The first great step of advance was the determination by Petrie in 1890 of the relative ages of pottery found in the mound of Tell el-Hesi or Lachish. The successive layers of *débris* show corresponding changes in the pottery, its general shape, the form of the bottom, the treatment of the handle, the neck and rim or lip, the ornamentation by indenting or by colors arranged in bands, stripes, zigzags, or geometrical forms. Petrie's conclusions were in part based on a comparison of Tell el-Hesi pottery with corresponding forms of dated pottery in Egypt and elsewhere, and were supported by his discovery of a cuneiform tablet belonging to the El-Amarna period. The application of his conclusions by Bliss, Macalister, and others, while resulting in modification in details, confirms the general correctness of the system. In the absence of inscriptions the importance of this means of dating the strata of *débris* is obvious. This is a test which may and must be used by all explorers. By its application it is now possible in undisturbed *débris* to know definitely whether one is working in Roman, Seleucidan, Israelitish, or Canaanite levels. And even in disturbed *débris* one can often assign the intermingled fragments of pottery to their respective periods. This key is also of great value in deciding the age of tombs cut in the rock and not buried beneath accumulations of rubbish.

Let us turn to particulars, and ask first what we have learned from work in the Canaanite level. This level has been penetrated at Lachish, Taanach, Megiddo, Gezer, Jericho, and other points. We know now of the broad and high walls of stone surrounding the ancient cities, of the stone houses with small rooms, of the standing columns which were the essential feature of the "high places," of the methods of burial, of the religious beliefs, of the animals used, of the kinds of food eaten, of the intercourse with the

outer world, especially Egypt and the Ægean, of the weapons, utensils, and adornments used, and of the attainments made in art. By the examination of skeletons, especially of skulls, found at Gezer, Mr. Macalister has made a beginning in the ethnological study of the Canaanites. No native writing from the period has been found, but only writing in the Babylonian script, at Lachish and at Taanach, and writing on such imported objects as scarabs from Egypt. The marks simulating writing on scarabs of native origin seem to be the work of those who had no script of their own.

The total impression of the Canaanites as made known in their remains agrees with the picture given in the Old Testament and in the El-Amarna letters. We can now understand better than before how they maintained themselves so long against the invading Israelites, how their religious customs were adopted by the invaders, and how the two peoples intermingled and intermarried on so large a scale.

This gradual merging of Canaanites into Israelites carried with it as a consequence the gradual passing of one period into the other, as represented in the *débris*. While certain older types of pottery and utensils persisted for a while, other types specifically Israelitish were developed, and these may also be recognized by the specialist.

The period of Hebrew material greatness, if such expression be legitimate at all, was brief, covering the four centuries of the monarchy. During this time but two cities of first importance were developed, Jerusalem and Samaria. Sites of second-rate importance, like Hebron, Shechem, Jezreel, Tirzah, Bethel, Dan, Beersheba, have not been touched by the excavator. The great mass of exploration has been conducted at sites which are indeed of much consequence for the Canaanite period, but only of third-rate importance for that of the Hebrews, so far at least as we may judge from the Old Testament. We can therefore not wonder if such sites have not been specially rich in remains of the Hebrew period.

Of the two chief Hebrew sites Jerusalem comes first, but the amount of excavation which has been possible within the

city wall is altogether too meager to reveal the artistic and literary remains of Hebrew origin which lie buried deep beneath the present level.

At Samaria the conditions are more favorable. Save the village and the cemetery which cover the eastern side of this vast mound, there is no encumbrance too great to be removed by money. Sufficient money might even remove all the houses of the village, except the mosque. Jerusalem being for the present inaccessible to the spade, Samaria has long been recognized as the most promising site for the explorer.

The excavation carried on at Samaria during the past three summers, though it has not touched a twentieth part of the enclosure, can show results of the first importance for the life of the ancient Hebrews. In the higher levels of the *débris* are the ruins of the constructions of Herod the Great, who rebuilt the place in honor of Augustus, and gave to it the name which the village still perpetuates. Underneath the Roman are found the ruins of the Seleucid era; underneath these are those of the Babylonian-Assyrian period; and lowest of all the great palace built on the hill by Omri, enlarged by his son Ahab, still further enlarged at a later period, perhaps, as Professor Reisner suggests, by Jeroboam the Second. The excellent workmanship of the Ahab palace, as seen in the well-cut and well-joined blocks of stone, is not surpassed by that of Herod or of his Seleucid predecessors. We know now that prosperous kings like Ahab lived in large, well-built houses of stone, and we can understand as never before the prophetic descriptions of the wealth and luxury of Samaria.

Along with this palace have come to light the remains of houses of humbler character, and fragments innumerable of the pottery vessels made and used by the ancient Hebrews. The palace itself with its enlargements gives us an entirely new conception of Israelitish architecture, and its discovery marks a new epoch.

Of even greater consequence are some inscriptions found on the floor level of a storehouse attached to the palace

of Ahab. These are dated by the place of discovery and by proximity to an alabaster vase inscribed with the name of Ahab's contemporary, Osorkon the Second of Egypt. The inscriptions, written in the Hebrew language on potsherds, give us the names of two score or more of the private men of Ahab's time, and incidentally, through the proper names, most interesting light on the religion of that period. Being very early specimens of alphabetic writing, the inscriptions are of great interest in connection with the history of the alphabet. Moreover, this discovery settles forever the question whether writing was common in Israel in the early days of the monarchy. And if then, doubtless still earlier. The flowing hand in which these ostraca are written, with its graceful curves, attests long acquaintance with writing and much practice of the art.

In one particular Samaria is a spot specially favorable for exploration. There is no evidence of its occupation in the Canaanite period, and the bottom level of the *débris* is accordingly pure Israelitish. This agrees with the narrative of its original occupation by Omri, who seems to have found the hill an unoccupied field.

In the nature of the case, we are unable to point to definite Hebrew works of importance in Israel after the fall of Samaria, but traces of the Assyrian occupation are probably seen in certain walls, and certainly seen in fragments of two cuneiform inscriptions found on the spot, one in 1909 and one in 1910.

Even in Judah after 722 there was a great limitation of power, due to Assyrian aggression. Other matters than building operations absorbed the chief thought of the leaders. Foreign invasions and religious reforms were the order of the day.

From the Greek era we have in Palestine the small Seleucid town of Sandahannah, dug out by Dr. Bliss, with its streets and houses, and a considerable number of Greek inscriptions on stone, a discovery of no inconsiderable interest for the Maccabean era of Jewish history.

From the Roman period there are, besides the imposing

remains at Samaria already spoken of, the ruins of synagogues in Galilee. The exhumation of one of these by the Germans at Tell Hum reveals a large and handsome building, which was elaborately decorated with carving, the designs being drawn from the foliage of vines and trees.

It may seem surprising that one should be unable to report the discovery of the name of any Hebrew king. There is one possible exception. At Megiddo was found a Hebrew seal with a lion carved in the Assyrian style, and on the seal the name of the owner, Shema, who is called the servant of Jeroboam. It seems not unlikely that this Jeroboam is one of the two Israelitish kings who bore that name.

This leads naturally to the question, Why is it that Assyria and Babylon give us such large numbers of inscriptions and art remains and the Palestine of Hebrew history so few?

We may answer in general that the Babylonians and Assyrians were a much richer people, with a vastly longer history, that they were artistically more highly endowed, had a more developed material civilization, that the materials which they used were more durable, and that the mounds have been less disturbed by later occupation than have been those of Palestine.

Artistically the peoples of Palestine have not been richly endowed. Add to this the fact that all Hebrew buildings have been destroyed by war, fire, earthquake, and, worst of all, by the re-use of the material for later constructions. What exists, therefore, is but a scant fraction of what was, reduced for the most part, if we may judge from Samaria, to the foundations, or at most to these and a few of the courses of cut stone.

The contrast of Palestine proper with the region east of the Jordan is instructive. Beyond the Jordan, at some of the more important sites, as at Gerash and 'Amman, the ruins seem till recently to have suffered but little, save by the course of natural decay. Now, however, they are fast falling a prey to the new population. At Palestinian sites, on the other hand, which have been occupied by a settled

population more continuously, the buildings have suffered more at the hands of man than from the elements.

As to lack of sculpture in Palestine, the absence of artists and of good stone will account in the main perhaps for this. But that is not the whole story. In the Græco-Roman age there was certainly good statuary, as there were fine products of ceramic art, at Samaria. These have perished, and largely from the iconoclastic methods born of the religious scruples of the Hebrews. We read, too, how the Hebrews waged war against the altars and the gods made by the Canaanites and by themselves.

Grave robbery has been a most potent means in obscuring from us the attainment of the Hebrews in art. Naturally articles in the precious metals and in costly stone were the first to be taken away. Then followed the pottery, the weapons, and the plainer forms of personal adornment. An unrifled Hebrew cemetery has not been seen by an explorer. Such tombs probably exist, and when they are found they may require a complete revision of our notions regarding Hebrew art.

The fortunes of war must also be reckoned with in accounting for the destruction of works of art among the Hebrews. Palace and temple were robbed by the invader, or even by native kings to buy off the invader.

When we ask about records in writing, we have to face the probability that the Hebrews used mainly perishable material. The limestone of the country, though abundant and easily cut, disintegrates readily. Leather, parchment, and papyrus have, of course, all perished. But we know that writing was abundant. And from Jeremiah (32 14) we learn that important documents were preserved in earthen vessels. Is it too much to hope that even perishable materials thus protected have resisted the touch of time? The work at Samaria has taught us that potsherds were also used for records. These are of the same nature as the tablets of the Assyrian scribes. The ink is less durable, it is true, than cuneiform impressions, but here again we learn from Samaria what resisting power the ink employed in Ahab's day possessed.

All this is leading up to the suggestion that much of our ignorance regarding Hebrew art and records may be due not to their having never existed, or to their complete destruction, but to our not yet having had the good fortune to ferret them out in their safe hiding places. It seems incredible that the Ahab ostraca could have been the only kind of record current in his day. And why suppose that these alone have survived the wreck of time?

Much has been done by the excavator in Palestine, but by no means so much as has been hoped. May we in view of the past continue to hope, and if so, for what?

The exploration of the remains of fortresses and churches left by Crusaders has hardly had a beginning.

Of the exhumation of synagogues, so important for the history of Judaism and the early church, but a bare beginning has been made.

Such great remains of the Roman period as Baniyas, Cæsarea, Jericho, the Frank Mountain, Archelais, Masada, are still untouched by the explorer.

The discovery at Taanach and Lachish of cuneiform tablets belonging to the El-Amarna period encourages the belief that considerable collections of such tablets are still awaiting the discoverer. And in view of the fragments of the later Assyrian period, found at Gezer and Samaria, who could despair of similar tablets better preserved and in larger number still to be found?

As for Hebrew material, which we desire above all else, the results at Samaria are most encouraging. Here in all probability Hebrew houses exist in a better state of preservation than Ahab's palace. The same may be said of Jezreel and other sites.

And what literary treasures may not be awaiting their fortunate discoverer! Is it too much to hope that we may yet possess in their original form some of those royal annals to which the compilers of the book of Kings refer? And can any literary discovery be imagined which would send a greater thrill through the world of to-day?

For the attainment of these hopes certain things are needed which we do not yet have in sufficient quantity. First among these may be named a propaganda which shall publish widely the results already attained, and thus win an ever-widening circle of friends.

Money is needed, of course, and needed in large sums, if work commensurate with the importance of the subject is to be done. For the raising of this money the last thing in the world which we should expect is that the explorer himself should devote any part of his energy to the task. Nor should he have to feel under the necessity of annually proving to his supporters that the work of the season has been successful. Of course all parties are happier if this can be shown. But excavation is like the lottery. There are many blanks, and the great prizes are few. All that can properly be demanded of the explorer is that he do his work thoroughly and well.

Money in adequate amount being taken for granted, one of the first changes to be made in excavation relates to method. A site once attacked should be thoroughly explored. This has thus far been the case in no single instance. In some cases the amount of work done at a site has been a caricature of excavation. This has not been the wish of the explorer, but a condition thrust upon him by the inadequacy of the means at his disposal. Of course not every site, in the present state of our knowledge of Palestine, deserves an exhaustive examination. But every site which seems worth touching at all should be tested at so many points and so thoroughly as to leave no doubt concerning the character of the material buried in the mound.

Next to the need of money is the need of trained experts in the field. Much good work has been done in exploration all over the ancient world by men whose chief equipment was their enthusiasm and their interest in the subject. But much harm has also been done along with the good. Ignorance or improper methods may result in irreparable harm at any given site. Archæology is now a science, with work in the field as one of its branches. Such work should be

prepared for by long and earnest study, and by an apprenticeship under supervision in the field.

What is obviously true of archæology in general is particularly true of conditions in Palestine. Here the problem is complex in the extreme, owing to the occupation of sites by successive populations and to the peculiar experiences which have befallen the country.

As between no work and the kind of work which has been done by untrained hands the latter is, of course, infinitely better. Without it we should still be largely dependent on literary sources for our knowledge of antiquity. All honor to the men who, inadequately equipped and inadequately supported, have done so great a service to the cause of learning.

But now that a better way has become clear, and the importance of excavation is seen by many minds, the duty of the hour is to arrange for large enterprises under the best possible conditions.

Perhaps coöperation between learned bodies, societies, museums, and universities, or even international coöperation, is advisable. The prime motive, the advance of knowledge, is in all cases the same. The powerful motive of the enrichment of our museums can, owing to the Turkish law relating to antiquities, have only a secondary place.

The body of scholars whose names are enrolled in this Society feel perhaps more keenly than any other body in America the value of exploration in Palestine. But as a society our interest has not been so manifest as that of the English Palestine Exploration Fund or the German Orient Society. I do not forget that the School in Jerusalem, though now fostered mainly by the Archæological Institute of America, is a creation of this Society, and that one of the reasons for its creation was archæological exploration. That this end may be achieved let us not fail to support the movement for the endowment of the School. Properly housed and endowed this School might become one of the most powerful agents for the exploration of Palestine.

There are eager young men awaiting the slightest encouragement to devote their lives to the work of excavation. Let us believe in the subject heartily ourselves, and sooner or later the money and the men will be found to realize our dreams.

Geological Light on the Interpretation of "The Tongue" in Joshua 15^{2,5} 18¹⁹

G. FREDERICK WRIGHT

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IN Josh. 15 2, etc., we read that the south border of Judah "was from the uttermost part of the Salt Sea, from the bay (*lašôn*) that looketh southward." In vv. 5 f. we read that "the border of the north quarter was from the bay (*lašôn*) of the sea at the end of the Jordan, and the border went up to Beth-Hoglah, and passed along by the north of Beth-arabah." Again in describing the border of Benjamin (Josh. 18 19) we read that "the border passed along to the side of Beth-Hoglah northward, and the goings out of the border were at the north bay (*lašôn*) of the Salt Sea, at the south end of the Jordan." But at the present day there is nothing like a bay or "tongue" at either end of the Salt Sea, while Beth-Hoglah is several miles above the present mouth of the Jordan.

In the *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* (vol. v, 1902, p. 267-280) M. Clermont-Ganneau endeavors to clear up the difficulty by supposing that in the time of Joshua the level of the Dead Sea was so much higher than now that a tongue of water extended northward as far as Beth-Hoglah. He calls attention to the very awkward turn which the border of Benjamin is compelled to make to reach the Salt Sea if the configuration of the land was then as it is now, and to the fact that the northern border of Judah from the end of the sea through the valley of Achor to Jerusalem is nearly straight, while it is the rule that where a sudden change of direction in the boundary is made the fact is clearly indicated. This makes it improbable that the boundary turned sharply to the south as it has to do now to fit the conditions.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that Clermont-Ganneau is correct in his main contention as to a change of level. But careful attention to the geological forces at work in the region furnishes an explanation the very opposite of that urged by him. For it is plain that the Jordan is constantly pushing out a delta into the head of the Salt Sea, and thereby limiting the area of evaporation so as to raise its level and compel it to overflow the lowlands at the south until equilibrium is again established. The tongue, spoken of in Joshua as at the north end of the lake, extended up the present valley of the Jordan as far as Beth-Hoglah at a lower level, thus conforming accurately to the description. The subject is so interesting that it will be profitable to enter into the details with considerable minuteness.

The Salt Sea as it exists at the present time is but a small remnant of the body of water which at one time filled the whole Arabah from the Waters of Merom to the Springs of Abu Werideh forty miles south of the Salt Sea. At these springs there are, according to Hull (*Mount Seir*, etc., p. 99 ff.), extensive soft sedimentary deposits marking an abandoned shore line, containing shells of the same species of mollusks that inhabit the lagoons about the Salt Sea now at its lower level. The elevation is here 1400 feet above the Salt Sea, and shore lines of the same deposits are reported by Mr. Ellsworth Huntington¹ at various points all around the southern part of the basin. Thus there can be no doubt that a body of water filled the whole depression of the valley of the Jordan to that height, producing a lake about 200 miles long and thirty miles wide with a depth of 2700 feet in its deepest part.

Other abandoned shore lines have long been noticed, the most prominent of which is that at a level of 650 feet above the lake. Mr. Huntington informs me that he has detected abandoned shore lines of marked size around the lake at the following levels above it; 1430, 640, 430, 300, and 230 feet, with lower strands at 210, 170, 145, 115, 90, 70, 56, 40, 30,

¹ The facts furnished by Mr. Huntington will be found in his forthcoming volume *Palestine and its Transformation*.

and 12 feet successively, while date palms and tamarisks standing in the water show that the level about 1870 was eight feet lower than now. These facts indicate that while there have been numerous minor variations in the climatic conditions of the region, there has been a gradual desiccation of the whole drainage basin throughout recent geological times. The progress recently made in our knowledge of glacial geology affords us a good deal of light upon the progress of events indicated by these abandoned shore lines. We have in the glacial epoch a cause amply sufficient to account for all these variations of level in the body of water occupying the valley of the Jordan (Arabah).

Since the elevation of the highest shore line of 1400 feet falls 200 feet below the height of the watershed in the Arabah south of the Salt Sea, and 150 feet below that between the valley of Esdraelon and that of the Jordan, it is clear that these levels have been determined throughout by the equilibrium that has been established from time to time between the precipitation and the evaporation over the whole drainage basin. The former prevalence of the precipitation over the evaporation can be positively connected with the prevalence of glacial conditions over the northern part of the Northern Hemisphere, extending as far south as the Lebanon Mountains. It is not known, however, that any glaciers formed within the area of the Jordan Valley itself. So far as we know Mt. Hermon never supported any glaciers, while the only glacier in the Lebanon Mountains was that which occupied the head of the valley of the Kādīsha River, and which deposited the enormous terminal moraine on which the principal grove of the cedars of Lebanon is growing. This glacier, starting from the highest summit of Lebanon, 10,000 feet above the sea, descended through the valley of the Kādīsha a distance of about ten miles where it reached the level of 5000 feet, and built up a moraine nearly 1000 feet thick at its front end, and stretching across the whole width of the valley, a distance of several miles. This glacier represents the climax of the Glacial epoch, corresponding to that in Europe, when the Scandinavian ice ex-

tended to the border of the mountains 100 miles south of Berlin, and as far as Kiev in Southern Russia, and when in America the ice extended to Staten Island in New York, and as far south as Cincinnati, in Ohio, Carbondale, in Illinois, and Topeka, in Kansas. In all these regions the semiglacial conditions extended a considerable distance farther south, producing increased precipitation and diminishing evaporation. There can be no doubt that the highest abandoned shore lines around the Dead Sea mark the rise of water there during the climax of the Great Ice Age. Furthermore, the several major abandoned strands around the Arabah correspond so closely to the various episodes of retreat and advance of the continental glaciers in Europe and America, that it is not easy to doubt that they form part of the record of the various abnormal movements in the crust of the earth which occurred between the Tertiary and the Recent geological periods.

These cycles of geological movement had, however, practically come to a close before history opens in the valley of the Jordan. The area of the Dead Sea had come down so nearly to its present dimensions before the time of Abraham and Chedorlaomer that we may consider the conditions as practically constant from that time on to the present. But the glacial lake which filled the valley left a sedimentary deposit of great depth (more than 100 feet), over all the lower part of the Jordan Valley, such as is left in the bed of a mill pond when the water is drawn off. It is through this sedimentary bed that the present river winds its way in the narrow channel called the Zôr, approximately 100 feet below the general level of the soil.

This brings us to the practical question which we have set out to solve. All the material which filled the cavity of the Zôr, approximately 60 miles long, one half mile wide, and 100 feet deep, has been cut out by the river and transported to the head of the Dead Sea, where it has been deposited as a delta, thus encroaching on the area of evaporation furnished by the surface of the lake. This, however, is but a small part of the erosion and deposition which has

taken place. About 3000 square miles of territory drains into the Jordan between Lake Galilee and the Dead Sea. The gradient of the streams carrying off this drainage is exceptionally steep, descending as they all do from a height of 3000 or 4000 feet. Now it is estimated from a wide range of observation that erosion is taking place over the continents as a whole at a rate which removes one foot of soil in about 3000 years from the whole continental surface, and deposits the same in the seas or lakes into which the streams of running water empty. The River Po has such a steep gradient that it removes one foot of soil from its whole drainage basin and deposits it in the head of the Adriatic Sea once in 700 years. We shall be perfectly safe in supposing that the *débris* brought into the Jordan below Lake Galilee, and carried by the river into the head of the Dead Sea, represents one foot from the whole drainage basin in 2000 years. And this, notwithstanding the comparatively small rainfall over the region.

For, even though small on the average, the rainfall frequently comes in the shape of cloud bursts which are the most effective of all agencies in erosive activity. It is this fact which gives such point and emphasis to Christ's figure of the insecurity of the house built on the sand. The little deltas of sand and gravel deposited at the foot of every mountain stream are sure to be washed away by succeeding floods, to give place to others in slightly different locations. All the wadies entering the Arabah bear witness to this. The bed of the stream formed by the junction of Wady Zuweira and Muhauwât, just north of Jebel Usdum, is fully half a mile wide, and is covered with pebbles and boulders a foot or more in diameter which have been rolled along some distance over a level bottom. Any one who has been in the Wady Kerak during a thunder storm such as Lynch describes can realize better than any one else how active these dry wadies are when the rains descend, and the winds blow in all their force. I recall with great vividness a scene in Central Asia, where the annual rainfall is only four inches a year, when a storm played around a mountain twenty

miles west of us without giving us a drop. But when on the next day our railroad reached the foot of the mountain the track was covered for a long distance with *débris* several feet deep that had been washed down the day before, requiring hundreds of men to clear it away so that we could pass.

It is not, therefore, extravagant to say that one foot of soil from all over the drainage basin between Lake Galilee and the Dead Sea is brought into the Jordan and transported into the head of the lake every 2000 years. Calculation will show that at this rate one cubic mile of sediment has been dumped into the lake below Beth-Hoglah since the partition of the land in Joshua's time. This is enough to cover 25 square miles 250 feet deep. With any reasonable estimate of the depth of the upper end of the Dead Sea, therefore, it is as certain as any scientific fact can be that in the time of Joshua the lake extended as far up as Beth-Hoglah, thus supplying the conditions implied in the description of the boundaries given in the verses under consideration.

That the level of the lake must have been lower at that time than it is now, follows as a necessary consequence from the effect of the encroachment upon the area of the lake by this deposition. Every foot of encroachment upon the lake's area diminishes the area of evaporation, and the water must in consequence rise and overflow lower surrounding areas in order to reestablish the disturbed equilibrium.

Nor is the deposition at the north end of the lake the only factor to be considered. Another nearly, if not quite equal, area of drainage coming directly into it, is found in the basins of the numerous wadies bordering the remaining three sides. Even the Wady el-Jeib, the largest of those coming in from the south, though dry a portion of the year, is a raging torrent at times, and therefore a most powerful eroding and transporting agency. This and all the other wadies have extensive deltas about their mouths which have encroached on the former area of the main part of the lake.

This calculation is fully sustained by study of the actual conditions. The delta of the Jordan commences at the

"Jew's Castle," about eight miles from the Dead Sea, and the embankment of the Zôr begins to slope away in a south-westerly direction till it reaches Khurbet Kumrân ten miles distant, leaving a triangle of low land averaging fully one mile and a half in width, being, opposite the mouth of the Jordan, two miles wide. The face of the embankment separating the Zôr from the plain of the Ghôr has in several places been deeply cut into by the small wadies which come down from the western mountains, and the wash from these wadies, as well as that from the temporary streams after every shower, has considerably raised the western border of the Zôr throughout this distance. But it can be safely estimated that the original borders of the Dead Sea have here been encroached upon to the extent of ten square miles; while upon the eastern side of the Jordan Merrill says the "plain for many square miles north of the sea is like ashes in which we often sank over shoe;" and he was compelled to walk for some hours along the shore and then north to reach his horses, which evidently had been coming over the harder and more elevated surface of the Ghôr. Speaking of this region Merrill remarks that "since so vast an amount of soil and other material is carried down by the Jordan every year it seems that a process of filling-in must be going on in some part of the sea, either at the bottom or on the shores where this material is carried by the current of the river" (*East of the Jordan*, pp. 223, 224).

This remark of Merrill's raises a question which it is important to consider here, namely, how can a river build up a delta higher than its own level? That this is actually the case is easily seen on examining the deltas of almost any stream. The coarser material brought down by the swift current is deposited soon after striking the plain or still water, building up in the water the bars which cause so much trouble in obstructing such harbors as are near the mouths of rivers. As an illustration of this it is sufficient to cite the case of Ephesus, whose harbor has been completely destroyed by the sediment which has filled the lower portion of the Meander. In the case of the Jordan as it enters the

Dead Sea a powerful influence affecting the deposition exists in the variation in the level of the sea, which amounts to ten or fifteen feet annually and still more at longer intervals. During low water, therefore, an extensive beach is exposed to the winds which transport an indefinite amount of material to the slightly higher levels, and thus produce the exact condition of things which we now find over this area.

But the deposition at the mouth of the Jordan is less than half of the whole. The sediment brought down by the streams upon the two sides of the sea and at the south end needs to be studied in detail to complete the impression. From Khurbet Kumrân, where the upper level of the Ghôr ends, to Râs Feshkah there is a triangular shore deposit which averages one half mile in width and two miles in length, which is a continuation of the deposits in the Zôr. From Râs Feshkah, which rises abruptly from the water's edge, to Râs Mersid, a distance of fifteen miles, the shore is again bordered by sand and gravel deposits brought down by the numerous wadies descending from the Judean mountains. According to De Sauley the delta at the mouth of Wady en Nâr, which comes down from Jerusalem, is something over half a mile both in depth and in width, and abounds in "fragments of rocks or bowlders swept along by the force of the torrent in its periodical overflows" (*The Dead Sea and Bible Lands*, Philadelphia, 1854, i. pp. 137, 138). At the mouth of another wady De Sauley describes what geologists call a "cone of dejection," where "the gravel washed down from the heights is heaped up to the extent of nearly two hundred and fifty yards" (*ibid.* p. 144). Throughout this distance the shore averages one half mile in width and is fully one mile wide opposite Wady Derajeh and Wady Hûsâhah.

The Plain of Engedi is described by the Palestine Exploration Fund as "about half a mile broad and a mile in length." This is material brought down by Wady Sideir and Wady el-Areijeh. Between Engedi and Sebbeh (Masada), a distance of ten miles, the mountain cliffs retreat until they are fully two miles from the shore. Across this

numerous wadies course their way, bringing down an immense amount of *débris*, and depositing it as deltas at the water's edge, one of which is described by De Sauley as having a breadth of 500 yards, and another as indefinitely larger. Lynch notes a delta five or six miles south of Sebbeh which he says extends "half a mile out" into the sea. Beyond this is the delta at the mouth of wadies Zuweirah and el-Muhauwât, which covers two or three square miles.

At the south end of the lake Wady el-Fikreh, draining an area of about 200 square miles, has brought in an immense amount of coarse sediment, which it has deposited on the west side of the Sebkah (mud flat), which was formerly a projection of the Dead Sea; while Wady el-Jeib, fed by innumerable tributaries from the mountains of Edom and draining an area of well-nigh 2000 square miles, combined with Wady Tufileh and Wady el-Khanzîreh, has encroached upon the Sebkah with coarse deposits to an extent of seven or eight square miles. Following down the east shore, Wady el-Hessi has pushed out a delta of coarse material into the eastern neck of the Sebkah, covering three or four square miles. Still farther north Wady Kerak and Wady Benî Hamîd have built up deltas which have encroached to the extent of two or three square miles upon the head of the bay lying east of the Lisân. Wady Môjib and Wady Zerka Mâ'ain have built up less pronounced deltas because of the greater depth of the water on the east side, but even so they are by no means inconsiderable.

Putting these separate items all together, it would appear that the supposition that the area of the Dead Sea had been diminished by the deposits of its numerous tributaries to the extent of twenty-five or even forty square miles is below rather than above the probable amount.

Concerning the tongue at the south end of the Dead Sea, it is impossible to speak with the same definiteness that we can concerning that at the north end. But the projection of the mud flat (Sebkah) at the south end would seem to indicate the former extension of the bay in that direction, the central channel of which has been filled up by the finer

sediment carried into it by the numerous wadies which have deposited the immense deltas of coarser material constituting the Ghôr el-Feifeh and Ghôr es-Saffieh now covered with rank vegetation.

At any rate there is no question that the limits of the lake have been circumscribed greatly at both the north and the south ends, as well as at numerous points where wadies come in from the highlands on either side, provided that the forces of nature have operated continuously for the last 4000 years as they are operating now. These present forces would bring in sediment enough to cover 25 square miles 500 feet deep with sediment. An encroachment of 25 square miles on the area of the lake would cause it to rise any amount until the proper evaporating area to maintain the equilibrium was exposed to the sun. We may believe, therefore, on the best of geological evidence, that the larger part of the lagoon south of the peninsula of the Lisân was, in Abraham's time, dry land and watered sufficiently to make it "like the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou goest unto Zoar" (Gen. 13 10), as the plain of Sodom and Gomorrah is said to have been. This will, therefore, reopen the question about the situation of the cities of the Plain, and revive interest in the tradition that the site of the cities that were destroyed now lies submerged by the waters of the lagoon at the south end of the Dead Sea.

In conclusion, however, it is necessary to add the cautionary remark, that these, like all geological calculations, are subject to modification if there is evidence of changes having taken place in the activity of the forces involved in the problem. If the rainfall over the Jordan Valley was greater in the time of Joshua than it is now, that would compel us to assume a greater area for the Dead Sea than it now has, and, so far, vitiate the foregoing conclusions. But of this we do not have sufficient definite evidence to make it a base of calculation. Periodical variations in the level of the Dead Sea have been noted in recent times, but they do not seem to have any connection with the general conditions with which this paper has been dealing. They are too

rapid to be the effect of those general causes. Reference has already been made to the submerged trees around the border which indicate that during the last forty years there has been a rise in the water of eight or ten feet. But in 1818, when Irby and Mangles visited the region, there was a ford in use leading from the Lisân to the western side of the lake. It is not now practicable to use this ford. When Professor Hull and his party visited the south end of the lake in January, 1884, they traversed the shore east of Jebel Usdum along a sandy beach 100 feet wide which was five feet above the water level. In January, 1901, when my party visited it, it was impossible to proceed along the base of Jebel Usdum, on account of the water two or three feet deep which was washing the base of the Salt Mountain, while five years later Professor Schmidt reports that he slept on this beach.

Evidently these minor variations are connected with brief variations in the climatic conditions which need not affect the general results. But it would be well to know from just which one of the varying levels of the water the calculations are made which fixes the depression of the Dead Sea at 1292 feet below the Mediterranean Sea.

The Place of the Word-Accent in Hebrew

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LANGUAGE is an historical product. As such it has its biography and chronology. Linguistic phenomena must therefore be studied genetically, that is to say, philologically. Empirical grammar is just as different from the philological kind as the homely interpretation of a literary document differs from skilled exegesis. The two methods may even yield contrary results. Thus, from the point of view of empiricism, the rule given in § 29 of the last¹ edition of Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar* that in the accentuation of Hebrew words *milra'* predominates² is not quite correct even when the developed stage of the language is considered;³ the reverse is certainly the truth when we ascend to the beginnings. To prove my point, the following observations may be in place.

The traditional system of Hebrew accentuation can be mastered in its entirety only at the end of the Grammar. This is perhaps the reason why in the text-book alluded to it is scantily summarized at the threshold⁴ and then forgotten at the end. The metrical system is properly treated in Wright's *Arabic Grammar* at the end.⁵ That is the place where future Hebrew grammarians will have to discourse on Hebrew metre conveniently preceded by an account of the received accentuation. For it is clear that a knowledge of syntax is requisite for an adequate comprehension of the

¹ The twenty-eighth, Leipzig, 1909.

² "Der Hauptton der Wörter ruht nach der masoretischen Akzentuation meist auf der letzten Silbe, seltener auf der vorletzten."

³ See at the conclusion of this paper

⁴ § 15.

⁵ ii 3, 358-368.

system.⁶ Yet a cursory orientation is imperative at the very beginning. "The sentence antedates the word; the sentence-accent is therefore necessarily more original than the word-accent."⁷ Without some sort of a knowledge of the Hebrew system of accentuation, an understanding of Hebrew phonology and morphology becomes nugatory. Now, the written text (*ketib*) of Scripture, on the surface at least, recognizes but two units; a maximal which is the section (פרשה) and a minimal which is the word (תבה). Between the two limits it would seem to discountenance all pauses. It knows of no verse-division.⁸ It will not commit itself to one interpretation: the Torah has "forty-nine faces."⁹ At a previous stage, when words were permitted to run together, the latitude of exegesis was still a wider one.¹⁰ The heavenly Torah, according to Nahmani,¹¹ was written in *scriptio continua* (כתובה רצופה). Thus, the first words of Scripture might be read: *In initio creabatur Deus*.¹² The word-division is therefore something traditional; it ministers to sense, the simple sense. Now, the word itself is a composite (witness *ba-šalmē-nū*, "in our image"), just as a number of words might conceivably be combined into a sense-unit. The Samaritans write הרגרזים, "Mount Gerizim," as one word.¹³ The Jews write ביתאל, "Bethel," as one word,¹⁴ but בית לחם, "Bethlehem," as two words.¹⁵ Accordingly, the one is an

⁶ See Wickes, *Poetical Accents*, ch. iv; *Prose Accents*, ch. iv.

⁷ Wundt, *Die Sprache* (= *Völkerpsychologie*, i), ii, 393.

⁸ Sofrim 3, 7; see art. "Verse-Division" in *JE*.

⁹ p. Sanh. 22 a; see Bacher, *Exeget. Terminologie*, ii, 157 f. Comp. also b. Sanh. 34 a (Bacher, *ibid.*, 72).

¹⁰ As may be exemplified by any line in the Eshmunazar inscription.

¹¹ Introd. to his commentary on the Pentateuch.

¹² בראש יתברא אלהים.

¹³ See Cowley, *Samaritan Liturgy*, ii. p. liv (*s.v.*).

¹⁴ See Baer on Gen. 12 s.

¹⁵ On the subject of word-division in the biblical text comp. Sofrim 5, 10, 11 (and Müller's notes); p. Megillah 72 a; b. Pesahim 117 a; Norzi on Gen. 12 s, Ex. 17 16. The list No. 99 in 'Okla ḡe-'Okla (see the references to the Masora, Norzi, and Heidenheim Frensdorff, *Massoret. Wbch.*, 369 a) enumerates fifteen words written as one word and read as two; three examples (מהם, מלכם, מזה) contain מה, one (ויהיו) הוא, and two (מנוסערה, מנסערה) מן as an element; in the remainder of the examples (with the

example of two words habitually run together, as the other is of two words habitually separated. The spelling **בצלמו** as one word is equally habitual, traditional. It goes no further than the habitual severance in the case of **בצלם אלהים**, "in the image of God."

While the word, in its traditional limits, is the minimal conceptual unit, it has no standing in phonetics. At least in ordinary speech, pausation may and may not coincide with the word-end. The minimal phonetic unit is the stress-group ("Sprechtakt"); its measure is equivalent to the distance between two consecutive strong-stressed syllables. The length of a stress-group is relative to the whole of a connected utterance, and varies according to the distribution of forces which itself is conditioned by the tempo of the speaker or the nature of the literary piece as it is recited with more or less solemnity. What in a slow, even tempo appears as broken up into a number of groups becomes in a recitation which aims at sense rather than at clear enunciation a compact unit with graded stresses ("Taktgruppe"). Both the shorter and the longer groups are rhythmic figures; in both, the intervals with weaker stresses will be reduced to the shortest possible limit.¹⁶ In the received system of Hebrew accentuation, there are shorter and longer groups properly graded with reference to one another and to the longest group of which they are component parts. Absolute pausation is reached only at the end of a connected period which may cover more than the measure of a single verse. Within the period as a unit, relative pauses are freely distributed. Relative subordination of stresses is the supreme

exception of **לְבַיְימִי** the *here* is based on an exegetical conception not presupposed by the *ketib*. Interesting are also the lists Nos. 100–102; the examples are again of unequal merit. The versions, notably the Septuagint, show differences in the word-division; Jer. 23 33 is the best-known example; see Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, p. xxx ff. In Arabic and Syriac (but particularly in Mandaic; see Nöldeke, § 14) certain words (forms) are habitually joined together; at the same time the converse process is equally observable, comp. Mandaic-Talmudic **בִּדְ**, Mishnic **שֶׁל** in the editions, Biblical **בִּשְׁל**.

¹⁶ On the subject of stress-groups and their gradation comp. Sievers, *Phonetik*⁵, §§ 620–653; Jespersen, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, § 210; Sweet, *Primer of Phonetics*, §§ 91–113.

principle of the Hebrew system of accentuation. When the smallest measure is reached and it covers more than one word, the hyphen steps in as a mark of stress-union; in the relatively higher group, a "conjunctive accent" serves the same purpose; in the still higher group, a "disjunctive" of minor grade; and so on. Hyphenation goes naturally with a quickened tempo.¹⁷

It is well known that the retarded tempo was favored by Ben-Naphtali and the quicker by Ben-Asher. Where the latter is content with a hyphen, the former introduces an "accent."¹⁸ The difference between the two cannot have been appreciably great.¹⁹ In proof of this proposition may be mentioned in the first place the fact that frequently a "conjunctive accent" appears in one and the same word in front of a "disjunctive."²⁰ Then, the spirantization of the כּוֹלֶכֶת is effected by an immediately preceding vowel whether in the same word or in two separate words, and it is immaterial in the latter instance whether the phonetic union is indicated by the hyphen or by a "conjunctive."²¹ In either case, we are dealing with a stress-group, shorter or longer, spoken without a pause implying a fresh impulse of force. A further proof is afforded by the rules which the

¹⁷ A glance at (or preferably a reading aloud of) the first three verses of Scripture will substantiate the remarks in the text. I have in mind the interpretation of the unsophisticated Rashi. Had the accentuators chosen to make of the three one verse (comp. *Kiddushin* 30 a, with reference to Ex. 19 9; note in particular the decalogue according to the טַעַם הַעֲלִיין), there would have resulted visually a series of long groups held together by hyphens or by a multiplication of *servi*, whereas in the present less unwieldy division they are broken up into smaller groups coinciding for the most part, yet not altogether, with the word-division of the *ketib*. Once we adopt a less retarded mode of reading, the groups will lengthen, the words come closer together, and the hyphens multiply.

¹⁸ So e.g. Gen. 1 4, וַיִּהְיֶה אֵר, Ben-Asher; וַיִּהְיֶה אֵר, Ben-Naphtali. See Baer, *Genesis*, 81, n. 3.

¹⁹ Grimme, *Hebr. Akzent-u. Vokallehre*, 30; Praetorius, *Über d. rückweichenden Accent*, 7. Grimme's view that the hyphen may be preceded by a strong stress is acceptable only if the relative gradation between it and the next following strong stress is had in mind.

²⁰ E.g. וַיִּהְיֶה אֵר, Deut. 7 13.

²¹ E.g. וַיִּהְיֶה אֵר, Gen. 1 5; וַיִּהְיֶה אֵר, 1 2.

rabbis lay down for the distinct articulation of every speech-element in the *Shema*.²² The examples adduced cover indifferently words united by a hyphen and words joined together by means of a "conjunctive."²³ It follows that in ordinary reading which was less exact and therefore less retarded, not to mention ordinary speech, it was customary to utter all such word-groups with so complete a union of force that similar sounds were run together²⁴ and that even the syllabic division was obliterated to such an extent that laryngeal sounds (the hamza, but also ע) were ignored.²⁵ But the strongest proof comes from the *ketib* itself. Whatever the cause of the peculiar orthography of the Koran (on which subject there is a difference of opinion between Vollers²⁶ and Nöldeke²⁷), so much is certain that the Hebrew *ketib* points to words spoken after the manner of the Arabic "pausals"²⁸ and to others uttered in close union with their syntactical dominants, *i.e.* as the weaker elements of stress-groups.

The most obvious instance of a stress-group in the *ketib* is afforded by the *'idāfeh* construction with a feminine noun ending in *-at* as the *mudāf*. The retention of the closing consonant (*t*) is evidence of the close union of the component parts of the *'idāfeh*; contrast the disappearance of the same sound when the word is spoken pausally, "in the abso-

²² p. Berakot 4 *d* (see Alfasī according to Tosafot Berak. 15 *b*, *s.v.* בִּין; Asheri, *ad locum*; Tūr, 'Orah Ḥa'īm, § 61, with Karo's note); b. Berak. 15 *b*.

²³ *E.g.* בְּקֶלֶל־לְבָבָהֶם, עֲשֵׂב בְּשָׂדֶךְ, Deut. 11 13. 15.

²⁴ The Arabic term is *'idgām*, the Hebrew הַבְלָטָה. See *Rikma*, 141 f. (reputed opinion of Saadia concerning the pronunciation of בִּין בִּין with *'idgām* which is approved and carried further; the intervention of a "conjunctive" is pronounced no hindrance); *Miklol*, smaller Venice edition, 95 ff.

²⁵ Thus the fear was expressed that וְהָיָה אִךְ, Deut. 11 17, might sound like וְהָיָה; וְהָיָה, v. 21, like וְהָיָה (both examples show by the way that וְ and וְ were not qualitatively different). See also Sofrim 5, 10, where וְהָיָה אִךְ וְהָיָה אִךְ is deleted by the Gaon of Wilna, and comp. Wellhausen, *Samuelis*, v-vii; Margolis, *ZAW*, xxvii (1907), 257.

²⁶ *Volkssprache u. Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, 158.

²⁷ *Beiträge z. semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, 7; *Neue Beiträge*, 1 ff.

²⁸ Wright, ii³, 368-373.

lute state." Thus, over against ארמה, Gen. 42, we have ארמת קדש, Ex. 35; the writing in two words, as was pointed out above, is just as habitual as is the union in one word in the case of ארמתכם, Gen. 4723; it is simply a matter of orthography, but the morphological and phonetic configuration is identical in both cases. What is mutely hinted at by the *ketib*, is clearly brought out by the *kere*. The loss of the middle vowel (*a*) in ארמת, whether in the combination ארמת-קדש or in ארמת מצרים, Gen. 4720, exactly as in ארמתכם, when compared with its retention in ארמה, shows that there is a difference in grade between the strong or pausal and the half-strong or non-pausal stress. It furthermore shows how immaterial it is whether the *mudāf* is joined to its dominant by means of a hyphen or a "conjunctive." While the preference for the hyphen in ארמת-קדש may be explained as due to a desire of avoiding a collision of the two stresses (the strong and the half-strong),²⁹ no such reason obtains in the case of ארמת-עפר, Dan. 222. The hyphen is apparently the normal and the "conjunctive" a mere substitute; in a double *'idāfeh*, a "disjunctive" of minor grade may be resorted to, but the morphological configuration will not be altered, as in מתבואת ארץ כנען, Josh. 512. The *ketib* is concerned solely with detached concepts; but the *kere* naturally joins together in utterance what is visually separate, and reduces phrases like ארמת-עפר, ארמת-קדש, ארמת מצרים to the level of ארמתכם. For practical purposes, the rule may be laid down that the distribution of the vowels in the "construct state" of any noun will be exactly the same as in the nominal element preceding a so-called "heavy" suffix.³⁰

²⁹ Praetorius, *l.c.* 9 ff.

³⁰ Thus פיראיש, Prov. 1214 || פיראיש, Num. 3224; אבריער, Isa. 95 || אבריער, Gen. 319; במואב, Ex. 155 || במואב, Job 123, חקעולם, Ex. 3021 || חקעולם, 514; ירתיחם, Jer. 1821 || ירתיחם, Deut. 3129, and so on. To מבות as a construct state comp. מבתוך, Deut. 2859, which suggests מבתכם, just as במות, Deut. 3213, comports with במתיכם, Lev. 2630. ארעכם, Lev. 199, would lead to ארעך, actually witnessed to by the Greek transliteration *aps*; ארעך, on the other hand, points the way to a possible ארעכם, comp. ועמכם (inferred from ועמך, Ps. 10211) by the side of ועם, Lam. 26. Comp. also שביכם, Num. 3119; שריכם, Am. 914, which recall שבי, שרי. See *AJSL*, xii (1896), 219.

The weakened force with which the *mudāf* is uttered results in stresslessness³¹ when it consists of but one syllable,³² while a form consisting of more than one syllable is subject to half-strong stressing.³³ In the case of the smallest measure of two syllables, the following rules seem to have governed the position of the stress:

(1) Of two unequal syllables, the longer was stressed.

(2) Where the duration was equal, the stress might conceivably rest on the one or the other. As a matter of fact, however, the only example in which both syllables maintained themselves in actual Hebrew is that of two long syllables, and then the stress rests on the second.

(3) (Open) syllables with long vowels or closed syllables with short vowels were regarded as longer than (open) syllables with short vowels. But even the latter kind of syllables might be differentiated according to the sonority of the vowel, the vowel *a* surpassing in this respect the others.³⁴

In the form of a table, we obtain the following combinations:

cṽ:cv	kā:la	קול
cvcṽ:	'abī:, ḵadaḵ:, binā:	אבִי, יְדִי, בְּנִי
cv:cv	ḵa:da	ךָ
cvcv:	bīna:	Arab. <i>bna</i>
cṽcṽ:	'aḵnaḵ:	עֲנִי

³¹ Properly speaking, there is no such thing as stresslessness; it is simply a case of "weak" stressing.

³² E.g. שִׁחֲטֵה, Prov. 12 14. So soon, however, as the strong stress is deferred by the measure of a syllable, a half-strong stress is introduced, e.g. חֲטִי־אֵשׁ, Ex. 28 32. The ׀ (*meteg*) in itself is no sign of stress; it is really nothing more than a mark of caution for the purpose of preventing the slurring of a vowel when at a distance from the strong stress. See Baer, "Die Metheg-Setzung," in Merx's *Archiv*, i. 56 f. A closed syllable naturally protects its vowel; hence there is no call for the mark of caution; nevertheless, under the same conditions, a closed syllable is equally capable of being the bearer of a half-strong stress; pronounce accordingly חֲקִטּוֹלִים, Ex. 30 21, ḵq:k'qla-m.

³³ Provided, of course, the interval of a syllable separates it from the strong stress of the dominant.

³⁴ Jespersen, *l.c.* § 192, end. It is to be remembered, however, that it is difficult to say which of the case-vowels was the more currently used in primitive Hebrew. Thus, the actual Hebrew form in a given case may have resulted from one of the cases, and then been used indiscriminately for the others as well.

It is clear from the Hebrew equivalents that an unstressed short vowel was subject to reduction or total loss in the syllable preceding, and to total loss in the syllable following, the half-strong stress.

So soon as the *mudāf* grew in length beyond the measure of two syllables, antepenultimate stressing was out of the question when one or the other of the two closing syllables was long. The position of the stress was then determined by the preceding table; hence *barū:ka*, *mamlakā:ta*, *barū-kaḥ:*, *dabaraḥ:*. On the other hand, when both the closing syllables were short, the stress might still be placed on the penultimate: *gabūra:ta*, *kabi:da*, *ṣadaḥa:ta*. But antepenultimate stressing was quite as possible: *iṣ:ata*, *ka:bida*, *ʿata:rata*. As for the part of the word preceding the (half-strong) stress, it is clear that it was spoken with so quick a tempo as to leave room at best for a second, quarter-strong, stress. The conditions are obvious. In the first place, the two stresses had to be separated by at least one syllable. Then, the syllable which became the bearer of the weaker stress might itself be short or long; when short, a further condition attached itself that the intervening syllable must likewise be short; when the latter was long, it entrained the immediately preceding short syllable and the two together became unstressed. Thus *mam::lakā:ta*, *da::baraḥ:*, but *gabūra:ta*. The effect of a stress, whether half or quarter strong, was to protect the vowel which bore it,³⁵ while unstressed vowels succumbed. Hence the examples selected in the foregoing assumed in Hebrew the forms בְּרוּכִי, בְּרוּכִי, מְמַלְכֹת, עֲמֻרָה, צִדְקָה, אִשָּׁה, כָּבֵד, כָּבֵד, וְנִבְרָתָה. It is evident that those with *milra'* accentuation were—*sit venia verbo*—*mil'el* in primitive Hebrew. It may further be observed

³⁵ Comp., however, Origen's transliteration $\lambda\phi\rho\omega\theta$ for לִפְנוֹת, Ps. 46 e. The nearest approach to it in the Tiberian nikḡud is וּבְרִית, and the like (on וּמִצִּירָתִי, see Kahle, *D. MT. des AT. nach d. babylon. Überlieferung*, 27; examples are available to me from a masoretic Genizah fragment which Dr. Schechter has been kind enough to turn over to me for publication, and from Origen). After all, the grammarian Hanau was not altogether wrong with his theory of the תְּנוּעַה קְלָה (see his צִדְרֵי הַתְּבָה, ed. Grodno, 1805, 14, 18 ff.).

that, so soon as the strong stress of the dominant collides with the half strong of the *mudāf*, the latter recedes by the measure of one (Hebrew) syllable, thus often coinciding with the place formerly occupied by the next weaker stress, visibly when the *mudāf* has a "conjunctive," invisibly when the latter is replaced by a hyphen.³⁶

When the syntactical dominant is a pronoun in the place of a noun, it and the nominal *mudāf* are orthographically conjoined in one word. But that, as was pointed out above, is solely a matter of habit. Of greater importance is the circumstance that the strong stress falls on the nominal element, the pronoun becoming an enclitic. In the case of the so-called "light" suffixes, that is, of the pronominal element consisting of one syllable, the fact is obvious enough, recalling Greek analogies.³⁷ A phonetic result is the reduction³⁸ and even subsequent loss of closing long vowels, and the immediate loss of short vowels in the same position: hence *pī* (<*pī-īa*), *pī-ḱā* (<*pī-ḱā*), *pī-ḱ* (<*pī-ḱī*), *pī-hā* (<*pī-hā*); but long *ū* remains: *pī-nu*, *pī-hu* (*pī-u*). With the lengthening of the nominal form the stress due on the enclitic is thrown back on the closing vowel of the nominal element³⁹ which it thus safeguards; in the historical development of the language, this stress becomes the main (strong) stress of the combination; hence *dāḇarē-nū* < *dabari-nū*, etc. In the case of the so-called "heavy" suffixes, that is, the pronominal elements which originally consisted of two syllables (with a long vowel in the second) (-*kimā*, -*kinā*, -*himā*, -*hinā*), it is clear that the weight of the suffix might resist enclisis.⁴⁰ Either the stress indigenous to the pronominal element rested on the long ultima, then the stresslessness of the preceding syllable with the ensuing loss of its vowel (entraining in turn the disappearance of the

³⁶ See Praetorius' work cited above, and comp. above, n. 32.

³⁷ Comp. *φῶς μου*.

³⁸ *ā* < *ā*. Kühner-Blass, *Griech. Gramm.*, i², § 89, n. 2: "Lange Silben der Encliticae werden in Beziehung auf die Betonung als kurze angesehen, weil die enklitischen Wörter rasch und ohne Nachdruck gesprochen werden."

³⁹ Comp. Greek *σῶμα μου*.

⁴⁰ Comp. Greek *φῶς ὑμῶν*.

next preceding laryngal) caused the stress of the enclitic to be thrown back on the stem-final of the noun which then became the main stress of the combination: *dāḇārā·mō* (the next step was *dāḇārā·m*) < *daba·ra·himā*. Or the stress rested on the penultimate, causing reduction in the length of the concluding vowel, and on the other side stresslessness of the preceding stem-final of the noun; hence *dāḇar-ke·mā*, *dāḇar-he·mā* (from which *dāḇar-ke·m*, *dāḇar-he·m*). But the tendency of throwing back the stress of the enclitic on the stem-final of the noun might prevail; hence *כְּלָהֶם, כְּלָהֶנָּה* (= *kulā·hm*). Thus, where in the combination of noun *plus* possessive pronoun we find in historical Hebrew *milra'* accentuation, as in *פִּי, דְּבָרָךְ, דְּבָרָהּ, דְּבָרָיו*, the forms upon which they are based, and which with the exception of the first still occur by the side of the others, are all *mil'el*.

As for the second part of the *'idāfeh*, when it consists of a noun in isolation (unencumbered by suffixes), it resembles to all intents and purposes the Arabic pausal.⁴¹ It is clear that the Arabic forms themselves presuppose the absence of the *tanwīn*, and that the strong stress remained there where it was when the stem-finals were still sounded. Hence the *milra'* accentuation of the so-called "absolute state" is something comparatively recent. The permanence of the short vowel in the syllable preceding the strong stress, no matter what one may think of its quantity in Hebrew,⁴² is apparently due to the retarded pronunciation characteristic of pausals; contrast the reduction of the same vowel when followed by the half-strong stress. It is well known that the vowels *i* and *u* more readily succumb even before pausals than the vowel *a*; another instance of the greater sonority of the latter.

Outside the *'idāfeh*, which is the most natural stress-group suggested by the *ketib*, other stress-groups are created by the *kere* wheresoever a syntactical union manifests itself, as for instance between nouns joined by means of "and" or be-

⁴¹ Comp. *יָד* with *iad*, *מַלְכָּה* with *malikah*, *בָּנִים* with *banīn*, *בָּנֹת* with *banāt*, and so on. See the reference above, n. 28.

⁴² See Grimme, *l.c.* 49 f.; Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 101.

tween a noun and its attributive adjective. Thus we find **עָם וְעָם**, Esth. 1 22, compared with **עָם מְרֻדָּה**, 3 6; **בְּלִבְטוֹב**, Eccl. 9 7, compared with **בְּלִב־יִים**, Ex. 15 8.⁴³ But here likewise the *ketib* led the way; comp. **חֲכֵמַת וְדַעַת**, Isa. 33 6. Note **בֶּן-קָטָן**, 2 Sam. 9 12;⁴⁴ hence **בְּאֶחָדִי**, Ps. 35 14; and so **דִּבְרַת קָטָן**, 1 Sam. 22 15. There is a tendency therefore to keep the "absolute state" intact within the stress-group.

When we turn to the verb, the forms in combination with objective suffixes are developed accentually exactly as the corresponding forms of the noun when combined with possessive suffixes.⁴⁵ The forms with the endings **יֵין**, **יֵין**, = *-ūna*, *-īna*, are built, at least in "pause," exactly like the corresponding nominal forms ending in **יִים**, = *-īma*, quite correctly, for the "absolute state" of the noun represents a primitive pausal.⁴⁶ Just as the strong stress with which these forms were spoken is recognizable by the maintenance of the vowel (long or short) in the syllable near the stress, so conversely the reduction of a short vowel in the same position must needs indicate the half-strong stress which belongs to the form when joined to another word in one stress-group.⁴⁷ The same difference between pause and con-

⁴³ Comp. also **לְרֹדֶר וְרֹדֶר**, Isa. 34 17 over against **מְרֹדֶר לְרֹדֶר**, 34 10. Comp. also **חֲקִיעֵי**, Ps. 148 6 (object *plus* verb) by the side of **חֲקִיעֵי**.

⁴⁴ Comp., however, **שָׁם הָעִיר**, Gen. 28 19 (Greek *σεμ αειρ*).

⁴⁵ Comp. **נָתַן**, Gen. 31 7, with **הִבְרִי**, Num. 30 8; **נָתַן**, Esth. 5 11, with **מִסְפָּרִי**, Ps. 30 12, etc. Forms like **אֶתְקַנָּה**, Jer. 22 24, and their like have their analogies in **מִמָּדָה**, Gen. 35 11. In **בְּרַכְתֶּם**, Ps. 118 26, the accent advances exactly as in **בְּשִׁרְתֶּם**, Jdg. 8 7; hence we are at liberty to construct **נִתְנַתְּבֶם**, etc.

⁴⁶ Comp. **יְקִימוּן**, Deut. 33 11, by the side of **בְּרוּכִים**, 1 Sam. 23 21, **תִּרְבֶּקֶן**, Isa. 50 11, **תִּרְבֶּקֶן**, Ruth 2 8, by the side of **מִקְדָּשִׁים**, Ezek. 21 7.

⁴⁷ Hence **אֶתְרִישְׁבָּן**, 1 Sam. 2 22, contrasted with **יִשְׁבָּנוּ**, Josh. 2 8. Comp., on the other hand, **יִשְׁבָּנוּ**, Gen. 19 4. Both forms reveal the *vis inertiae* of the stress which remains there where it stood in primitive Hebrew when endings consisting of two syllables were stressed while monosyllabic endings were unstressed. I am speaking of what was, or came to be, the strong stress. For when a form ending in a monosyllabic termination was joined in the context to the word next following in a stress-group, the half-strong stress might be allowed to rest on the monosyllabic ending; hence **יִשְׁבָּנוּ**, Eccl. 4 11. In the context, therefore, both forms

text accentuation is found with the endings $\text{ָה} = -an$, and $\text{ָה} = -at$.⁴⁸ Both the "pausal" וְשִׁבְרָה and the "absolute" וְשִׁבְרָה (רַחֵם), Ps. 51 19, are primitive pausals; the difference in the position of the stress rests on the circumstance that whereas the verbal form ended primitively in $-at$, the nominal form ended in $-atu(n)$.⁴⁹ In the contextual forms the difference was naturally obliterated. But even there *mil'el* accentuation is retained when the penultimate syllable is a long one.⁵⁰

The (subjective) pronominal suffixes which meet us in the forms of the first and second person of the "perfect" are seemingly on an equal footing with the objective pronominal suffixes joined to nominal or verbal forms, accentually speaking. That is to say, the suffixes of a pronominal character are originally enclitic. Where in the present state of the language the accent nevertheless rests on the suffix, as in the case of the "heavy" suffixes, the longer form of the suffix merely resisted the enclisis, with the result that in the combination what was originally the half-strong stress came to be the strong stress, and *vice versa*. עֹבְדָתָם , Josh. 22 3, עֹבְדָתָם , Neh. 9 17, and עֹבְדָתָם (inferred by analogy) show on the surface the same accentuation. Yet the following point of difference must not be overlooked. As is shown by the spirant in עֹבְדָתָם over against the explosive in עֹבְדָתָם , the objective suffixes were joined to the form with its stem-final preserved, while the subjective suffixes were appended to the form after it had lost its stem-final. It follows from the nature of the formation of the "perfect" (which has its

ending in the longer termination and those with the shorter are indifferently *milra'*, while in pause only the former can be *milra'*, the latter being necessarily *mil'el*.

⁴⁸ Comp. וְאֶבְרָה , Gen. 18 30; וְשִׁבְרָה , Ps. 34 21; but $\text{וְאֶבְרָה אֲדֹהֲפֵעַם}$, Gen. 18 32, וְשִׁבְרָה מֵאֵב , Jer. 48 4.

⁴⁹ Hence also the dissonance between אֲדָמְתוֹ , Deut. 32 43, and נִמְלִתְהוּ , Prov. 31 12. See on the latter form and its like, *AJSL*, xix (1902), 45 ff. In the forms with "heavy" suffixes, both sets of forms naturally coincide (see *ibid.* 168).

⁵⁰ Comp. קָמוּ בְּיָה , Prov. 31 28; נִפְצוּ מִעָלָיו , 2 Kings 25 5; הִקְלִי הַמִּים , Gen. 8 8 (but מִשִּׁבְתֵּינוּ , Jer. 14 7), etc.

analogies in late historical combinations of the participle with the pronoun in Aramaic⁵¹) that we are dealing in its case with a less archaic composition than in the instance of noun *plus* possessive suffix (and the verb *plus* objective suffix). It may be laid down as certain that the noun antecedes the verb, and that in the verb the imperfect is more ancient than the perfect. קָטַנְתָּ (comp. קָטַנְתִּי, Gen. 32 11) is but an abbreviated אָתָּה קָטַנְתָּ, 1 Sam. 15 17. While in historical Hebrew the distribution of stresses in a phrase like אָתָּה קָטַנְתָּ proceeds in such a manner that the pronoun is the bearer of the strong stress, a different gradation is clearly presupposed in קָטַנְתָּ, where the strong stress rested on the nominal element of the combination (the predicate); hence the preservation of the vowel in the syllable preceding the strong stress, exactly as in the case of יָדַנִי, etc. As for the form of the third person singular, the pausal form (*e.g.* וְכָרַךְ, Ps. 9 13) requires no further explanation; it is exactly analogous to the "absolute state" of the noun. But the contextual form (*e.g.* וְכָרַךְ יְהוָה, Jer. 44 21) has long been a puzzle;⁵² for while it follows the analogy of the "construct state" of the noun with regard to the vowel of the ultima, thus indicating a corresponding half-strong stress, the retention of the vowel of the penultima is difficult. Yet it is no more difficult than the retention of the same vowel in the contextual forms of the pattern וְכָרַךְ, Lam. 1 7, וְכָלִי, Gen. 37 4, and even יָדַעַן, Deut. 8 3 (comp. also אָוֶלֶת יָד, 32 36); the forms are clearly late when their vocalization is considered, the earlier forms for which, at least in the case of the feminine singular, Aramaic analogies exist,⁵³ having been supplanted. The truth is that in entering a combination with another word as a stress-group, the verbal form resisted complete subordination; and the reason is obviously this that a verbal form is a complete sentence in itself; hence its syntactical union with any word can be properly only of a sec-

⁵¹ Syriac, Mandaic, Talmudic, Neo-Syriac.

⁵² See Grimme, *l.c.* 49.

⁵³ Comp. סִלְחָתָא Dan. 7 20, וְאַחֲרָתָא 5 10.

ondary character. The same holds good of the forms of the imperfect without "affirmatives"; the persistence of the long vowel, as for instance in the אָקָם forms, shows clearly that we are dealing with primitive pausals,⁵⁴ the strong stress effecting the retention of a short vowel in the syllable preceding it, which vowel remains in the developed language also in the context. Comp. also the treatment of the "absolute state" of the noun in similar conditions adverted to above.

An equally late procedure, dating from historical times, is the retention of an unstressed vowel which has become so in consequence of the shifting of the accent farther to the end of the word in the perfect with the so-called ו consecutive. Hence וּבְרַתִּי, Deut. 15 15, contrasted with וּבְרַתִּי, 1 Sam. 1 11, etc. In the case of a long vowel in the penultimate, the accentuation fluctuates between *milra'* and *mil'el*. The pausal accent equally acts as a check on the shifting of the accent.

On the other hand, the pausal accent effects *milra'* accentuation in the case of the imperfect *plus* the so-called ו consecutive in all forms not containing "affirmatives." The pausal accent namely introduces normal accentuation of words spoken in isolation. In the context, on the other hand, the primitive mode of stress persisted. The common statement that the ו consecutive is prefixed to the jussive form of the imperfect is mechanical and misleading. It is true that a similar mode of stressing obtains in both.⁵⁵ But the reasons were absolutely different. The jussive and imperative were primitively spoken with the so-called "interjectional" accent. The imperfect following a ו consecutive, on the other hand, was originally a "conjunct" form with the stress resting on the relatively more important conjunction; in historical Hebrew, where the accent could not go farther than the penultimate, and certainly not to the conjunctive prefix, it was placed as near its original position as possible; hence *mil'el* accentuation.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Contrast אָקָם || Arab. 'akū-m-u, with תִּקְמָנָה || Arab. taḳu-m-na.

⁵⁵ Comp. especially the forms of לָרָ roots.

⁵⁶ On the meaning of the terms "interjectional" and "conjunct," see the references in *AJS*L, xix (1902), 46, n. 4.

As with the ending הַ in the verb, so it fares with the old case-ending הַ = *-ā* (the primitive pausal for *-an*) in the noun; hence אֶרֶץ, Gen. 24 52. It is to be observed that the nominal form is kept intact as far as possible; hence מִדְבָּרָה בֵּית אֵוֶן, Josh. 18 12, הָאֶרֶץ, Gen. 18 6, and the like; the stress falls in all cases upon the syllable which has it in the unencumbered form.

The preceding investigation has, I believe, shown conclusively that, genetically considered, *mil'el* accentuation predominates in Hebrew. In the primitive language, ultimate accentuation was possible only in connection with the half-strong stress resting on a long closing syllable. In all other forms, whether primitively pausal or non-pausal, the stress was found anywhere but on the ultima. Where we have in the present Hebrew ultimate accentuation, we are confronted by a loss of a syllable (through the disappearance of the stem-final, the reduction of dissyllabic suffixes to monosyllabic in consequence of the loss of the final vowel or contraction), or we are dealing with modern contextual forms. The rule currently given in our text-books about the predominance of *milra'* accentuation of Hebrew to which attention was drawn at the beginning of this paper disregards not only the genesis of forms, but abstracts likewise from the by-forms which are still preserved in historical Hebrew. Moreover, if *types* of forms are had in mind, the rule breaks down on the basis of pure statistics; one need only compare the forms of the perfect in pause,⁵⁷ and the result is obvious: the proportion of *mil'el* to *milra'* is 6:3.

⁵⁷ How late the non-pausal or contextual forms are, has been shown above. In the case of מִדְבָּרָה (still worse is the case of מִדְבָּרָה), the absence of a contextual מִדְבָּרָה (in the place of מִדְבָּרָה) shows the lateness of the form. The occasional forms like מִדְבָּרָה are developed correctly enough; comp. the feminine forms. In Origen's transliteration such forms predominate; perhaps through the influence of the Aramaic; comp. the parallel forms of the perfect like *paδθ*, etc. There is reason to believe that where the הַ is absent in the *ketib*, a similar Aramaic pronunciation was intended. The *kere*, as elsewhere, reintroduced the more archaic forms; or rather, it levelled down forms minus הַ to those with הַ. The same was done by the *kere* in connection with אֶרֶץ which was assimilated to אֶרֶץ in all but three cases (Num. 11 15, Deut. 5 24, Ezek. 28 14). On מִדְבָּרָה, see *AJSL*, xix (1903), 165.

The Wind of God

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GEN. 1^{2b}: רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֵף עַל-פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם. The ordinary translation of this passage in English is "and the Spirit of God moved upon the waters." The latest commentator, Skinner, in the *International Critical Commentary*, interprets it thus: "*The Spirit of God was brooding*—not, as has sometimes been supposed, a *wind* sent from God to dry up the waters (Targum of Onkelos, Abraham Ibn Ezra, and a few moderns), but the divine Spirit, figured as a bird brooding over its nest, and perhaps symbolising an immanent principle of life and order in the as yet undeveloped chaos" (pp. 17, 18). He adds: "It is remarkable, however, if this be the idea, that no further effect is given to it in the sequel." He also points out that רוּחַ in this sense occurs only here, and that the cosmogonic notion of the world-egg on which this interpretation is based has no vital connection "with the main idea of the narrative." He might have added that there is no trace of such a conception elsewhere in the Hebrew Scriptures.

Gunkel, Dillmann, and Delitzsch interpret the passage in the same general manner, connecting it with the conception of a cosmogonic world-egg. The absolute lack of relation of this idea (of the Spirit of God brooding over the waters as over a world-egg) to the rest of the passage is even clearer to Gunkel than to Skinner. רוּחַ¹ he describes as a *ἀπαξ*

¹ Professor Briggs has gathered all the uses of רוּחַ in a paper (*JBL*, xix), which is the basis of the article in Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius. Basing on this, with some slight differences, I find the use of the word to be as follows: (a) The common, and apparently the original sense is *wind*—117 times. (b) Closely related to this, *breath*,—58 times,—both the breath of God, where

λεγόμενον in this sense, while with regard to the whole conception he adds: "If in a Hebrew narrative it is first narrated that a bird brooded over an egg, it is with certainty to be expected that the narrator reported in the second place that a chicken was hatched out of the egg. Therefore the narration of the brooding of the Spirit must have reported further what befell the world-egg as a result of this brooding." (*Kommentar*², p. 92.) To relieve the difficulty, he supposes that there is a lacuna in the original narrative, which did once record the result of this brooding in hatching something out. His commentary on the passage would seem to be the best proof of its own error. This, it may be added, is the traditional interpretation of this passage by both Jewish and Christian exegetes. Rashi gives the re-

it might often equally well be translated wind, and the breath of man. In the latter sense it becomes the vital principle (breath of life, Gen. 7 15. 22) breathed into man by God (Gen. 2 7), but also the property of the beast (Ec. 3 19). (c) From this comes naturally the sense *spirit*—76 times—as the emotions or affections of courage, anger (in God or man) and good or evil dispositions (the spirit of whoredom, of justice, etc.). Sometimes it interchanges or is used in parallelism with נפש as the personality, and sometimes with לב as the mentality. It is the source of prophecy and of ecstasy. It is also the source of false prophecy. As the principle of life and as the principle of prophecy (true or false) the רוח comes from God. (d) It is designated 94 times as the *spirit* of God (Yahaweh, etc.). As such it is a power which stirs men to prophecy, to frenzy, which enlightens and deceives. With Ezekiel it is so near akin to wind that it picks him up and carries him to another place. Generally it puts what is good and exalted into men, as prophecy, wisdom, power to govern (Job 32 8 explains this spirit in man as the breath of God), military prowess, technical skill. As prophecy it is once represented as an independent entity דריוח, which offers to go and be a lying spirit in the mouth of the prophets (1 K. 22 21 π., but observe how this is interpreted by Zedekiah in the context). Once also in Job (4 15) it seems to be an independent entity, a vision of dread. As that by which God puts life and noble powers in man (the spirit of good, Neh. 9 20, Ps. 143 10) it finally becomes in one passage the synonym of the face or presence of God (Ps. 139 7-8), and in one passage as רוח יהוה and רוח קדשו it is identified with the מלאך פני, by which God led Israel in the wilderness (Isa. 63 9-14). The other passage (Ps. 51 13) where Briggs interprets רוח קדש in the same sense, must, I think, be ruled out. These words are parallel with רוח נכון and רוח נרובה in the preceding and following verses, and all three phrases must be interpreted alike.

There is no passage in which רוח has the sense given to it in the ordinary translations of Gen. 1 2.

ceived Jewish view — “as a dove that broods over the nest,” which is found also in Hagiga.² Jerome (*Quaest. ad loc.*) says, “Pro eo quod in nostris codicibus scriptum est *ferēbatur* in Hebraeo habet MEREFETH quod nos appellare possumus incubabat, sive confovebat in similitudinem volucris ova calore animantis.” Apparently this interpretation is not original with him, but simply that current and traditional among the Jews.³

Turning to the earliest versions, we find the Septuagint rendering the passage *καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπιφέρω ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος*. Now in the passive the verb *ἐπιφέρω* in classical Greek commonly means *to rush upon, attack, strike*, conveying generally the sense of hostility. It is also, however, used both early and late in the more literal sense of *borne or lifted up*. In the LXX the active often indicates hostility;⁴ in the passive it is only used once, in a passage somewhat similar to this (Gen. 7 18), “The ark was borne (*ἐπεφέρω*, Heb. הלך) upon the face of the water.” The Vulgate, both here and in Gen. 2 2, translates by *ferēbatur*. In the Targums⁵ מרחפת is translated by מנשבה, *blowing*. The Syriac Peshiṭta transliterates the Hebrew.

רחף in Piel occurs in Hebrew in only one other passage, namely, Deut. 32 11. This is the description of the eagle or vulture teaching its young to fly. “As the vulture stirreth up its nest, רחף over its nestlings, spreadeth out its wings, taketh him, lifteth him upon its pinions.” The first of the verbs in this passage, יעיר, *stirreth up, awaketh*, describes the action of the bird in forcing its young out of the nest; then follows ירחף, describing the actual process of getting the young to take to the wing; while the latter half of the verse describes the action of the parent bird in supporting and

² So Jastrow (*Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc.) רחף, “Pi, to move, hover, flatter (*sic*) Hag. 15 a (ref. to Gen. 1 2) כיונה שמרחפת על בניה וכו' like a dove that hovers over her young without touching them.”

³ It is noteworthy that, while Jerome thus interprets the passage, he actually translates מרחפת by *ferēbatur*, clearly influenced by the LXX *ἐπεφέρω*.

⁴ So to lift up the hand against, Zech. 2 9; lift up a report against, Judith 8 8; of attack in battle, 2 Mac. 12 35, etc.

⁵ Onkelos, Jonathan, Jerusalem, and Samaritan.

helping them after they have taken to the wing.⁶ Now precisely what is the action of the parent bird described by יִרְדֵּן?

Of the actual procedure of eagles, griffon vultures, or other similar birds in the earlier stages of teaching or helping their young to fly, described in the first two verses of the above quatrain, I am able to get no information from published works or from personal inquiry of the most distinguished ornithologists, whom I have in the last few months annoyed with many importunities. In the case of certain smaller birds, observers have seen the young shouldered or jostled out of the nest, as described here, and thus compelled to attempt flight. They usually land on the ground as the result of the first attempt, whereupon the parent birds fly down to them, flap their wings and fly before them, as though showing them how to fly, rush at them and away from them, hover about them, sometimes hold food before them at a little distance, and in general scold and coax them to flight. If from this one may argue to the conduct of the griffon vulture in connection with the flight of its young, I should suppose that יִרְדֵּן is to be rendered *flappeth* or *shaketh* the wings, *rusheth* or *fluttereth*, possibly even *hovereth*, but never *broodeth*, motion, not rest, being connoted.

The passage is commonly translated into English "fluttereth over her young." The Greek and the Targum of Onkelos, while agreeing more or less with one another, translate the word in this passage very differently from their translation of Gen. 12, or rather they translate something quite different from the Hebrew.⁷ In the Greek the vulture

⁶ Driver (*Deuteronomy, ad loc.*) quotes Alexander's citation from Davy's *Salmonia*, illustrating this in the case of eagles as follows: "Two parent eagles on Ben Weewis were teaching their offspring, two young birds, the manœuvres of flight." Rising from the top of a mountain, they "at first made small circles and the young imitated them; they paused on their wings waiting till they had made their first flight, holding them on their expanded wings when they appeared exhausted, and then took a second and larger gyration, always rising towards the sun, and enlarging their circle of flight, so as to make a gradually ascending spiral" (p. 358). Tristram, in his *Natural History of the Bible*, cites the same or similar testimony.

⁷ Apparently not because they had a different text, but because of a misunderstanding of the Hebrew, due to ignorance of the way in which young birds actually learn to fly.

covers the nest (σκεπάσαι) and *yearns after* (ἐπιποθεῖν⁸) its young. In the Targum it *meditates* over its nest (מחיש) and *covers* (מהחופה) its young. In the Syriac it flies about over the nest (טס); but in the second part the Hebrew verb is transliterated, as in Gen. 1 2.

ךחך is used once in the Kal form, in Jer. 23 9: "My heart is broken in the midst of me; all my bones רָחַפּוּ; I have become like a drunken man, and like a mighty man whom wine has overcome." This is commonly rendered "all my bones shake," which is the translation also of the LXX (ἐσαλεύθη) and of the Aramaic רַחַפּוּ.⁹ The contents also seem to suggest as the sense of the passage the knocking together or shaking of the bones from fear.

The cognate languages give us little assistance. The root רַחַפּוּ is wanting in Ethiopic and Assyrian. In Arabic it means *be soft* (infrequent), with which, I believe incorrectly, the Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius connects the Kal form in Jer. 23 9, translating *grow soft, relax*. In Syriac the root appears in the Pael with the meanings *foster, cherish, hover, brood, incubate, pass the hand back and forth* (over a priest at ordination), while the noun *ruháfâ* means *pity, clemency, benevolence, incubatio gallinae, illapsus Sancti Spiritus*.¹⁰ From this the Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius deduces for the Hebrew the meanings *move gently, cherish, brood*, in Deut. 32 11 "*hovering over young*," and in Gen. 1 2 "*hovering over face of waters, or perhaps brooding (and fertilizing)*." This supports the interpretation of the Jewish and Christian exegetes from at least the time of Jerome onwards, but, as already pointed out, introduces in Gen. 1 2 a cosmogonic conception of which we find no other trace in Hebrew liter-

⁸ Aquila, however, appears here to use consistently the same verb as in Gen. 1 2, ἐπιφέρεσθαι.

⁹ De Lagarde, *Prophetæ Chaldaice*.

¹⁰ Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, who has kindly looked up for me the use of this root in Syriac and Arabic, is of the opinion that it is not an original root in Syriac, but taken over from the Hebrew, and that all the meanings given above depend on the supposed meaning of מרחפת in Gen. 1 2. If this be correct, we may probably trace back the traditional interpretation of the Jewish and Greek exegetes as far at least as the Peshittâ translation.

ature, apparently the conception of the world-egg familiar in Indian cosmogony, from which it spread to the West.

Putting together the three passages in which the word occurs in Hebrew, I believe that in each case it denotes a motion of the general type described by one or another of the words *flap*, *shake*, *rush*, *flutter*. In Gen. 12 it is the wind rushing over or upon or against the water, like the flapping or shaking of wings; in Deut. 32 11 it is the literal flapping or shaking of the wings; and in Jer. 23 9 it is the shaking or knocking together of the bones in terror.

The ordinary cosmogonic conceptions of the Hebrews, of which we find abundant traces in the Bible outside of the more formulated cosmogonies of Gen. 1 and 2, are quite different in character, and indicate a connection of thought and tradition quite unlike those prevalent in India, out of which sprang the world-egg idea.

In Ps. 89 7-14, Yahaweh is described as ruling the waves of the sea and stilling the tumult of its billows. He has smitten and profaned Rahab; with His strong arm He has scattered His foes. This is a part of the creation work, by which He founded heaven and earth, creation being depicted as connected with the battle of Yahaweh against a monster, here called Rahab, and its allies, who are foes of God or the gods. Similarly, in Ps. 74 12-17, God is described as having, in the olden time, divided the sea by His strength, smitten the heads of dragons on the waters, crushed the heads of leviathan, and given him for food to the jackals. This is part of a creation myth, as shown by the results; for as a consequence of this battle with the sea monsters and leviathan, God digs out the fountains and the valleys in which they run, dries up the primitive rivers, forms night and day, moon and sun, and establishes the boundaries of the earth.

The Book of Job abounds in references to the creation myth and to the mythical monsters with whom God contended in connection with the creation of the world. So in Job 26 12 b we read :

“ With His strength He troubled the sea,
And with His skill He pierced Rahab.
His wind spread out heaven,
His hand slew flying serpent.”

Rahab is here connected with the sea, and flying serpent with the heavens. In connection with the battle of the sea, the Almighty pierces Rahab; then heaven is spread out by His wind, and the flying serpent slain, apparently in heaven. In cc. 40 and 41, the two monsters are named *behemoth* and *leviathan*, the former inhabiting dry land and the latter the deep. These monsters were evidently well known in Hebrew tradition.¹¹ In 2 Esdras 6 49-52, two living creatures are described as preserved by God on the fifth day of creation, behemoth and leviathan, to the former of whom He gave as his habitation a part of the dry land, whereon are a thousand hills, and to the latter that seventh part of the earth occupied by the sea.¹² In Enoch 60 7-9, it is further noted that behemoth is a male and leviathan a female. In Enoch 54 8 the water above the heavens is described as male and the water under the earth as female. Job 7 12 and 9 13 refer to a monster of the deep called dragon (תנין) or Rahab,¹³ which, with its allies, has been overcome and imprisoned by the Almighty.

In the 38th chapter of the same book, while the monsters are not mentioned by name, mention is made of the struggle of God with the deep itself: “When the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy: when God shut up the sea with doors, fastening it in with bars and gates.”

In general the Book of Job gives the following picture of the universe: the sky, strong as a molten mirror (37 18),

¹¹ Cf. also Ps. 44 20, Ezk. 29 3-6 a 32 2-8, Ps.-Sol. 2 28 b-34. In Ezekiel the dragon myth is used in describing the fate of Egypt, and in the Psalms of Solomon, of Pompey; but in both cases the ancient myth is clearly in mind.

¹² Cf. also Apocalypse of Baruch, 29 4: “And behemoth will be revealed from his place, and leviathan will ascend from the sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and I kept them until that time; and then they will be for food for all that are left.”

¹³ In Ps. 40 5 the plural of this, *rēhāvīm*, appears to mean false gods; *tōhū* is used in the same sense in 1 Sam. 12 21 and Isa. 41 29.

rests upon pillars (26 11), and above it are the waters held up by clouds (26 8); the earth rests upon a chaos of waters or a great sea (26 7); and in the bowels of the earth is Sheol or Abaddon (26 6); the waters are closely connected with darkness, and both those above and those below the earth form the habitation of monsters; this, with slight variants, may be said to be the regular Hebrew view of the universe. And out of the various references scattered through both the earlier and younger literature, we may reconstruct the following cosmogony as that ordinarily prevalent: first, a condition of chaos and darkness, a waste of waters, inhabited by monstrous and noxious forms; then a battle of Yahaweh, with the approval and rejoicing of the gods (divine or semi-divine beings, stars, etc.), against the deep and the monsters of chaos, in which in some way He uses the wind. By means of this He spreads out a firmament above, resting upon pillars, provided with windows,¹⁴ through which the waters above may be let down upon the earth. Beneath, upon the great void, He spreads the earth, a dwelling-place for living things, under which is the sea or abyss (*těhôm*).¹⁵ In this abyss, as also in the heights above, still dwell great monsters, which the Lord has preserved there, which no other than He can control, who are dangerous and noxious to men and to the works of men.¹⁶

¹⁴ Cf. Gen. 7 11, 2 K. 7 2, 19, Ps. 78 23.

¹⁵ Gen. 7 11, 49 25, Deut. 33 13, Ps. 42 8, 78 15, Prov. 3 20.

¹⁶ In Isa. 51 9 the delivery from Egypt is described in terms of the old cosmogonic myth: "The arm of Yahaweh cut in pieces Rahab, pierced the dragon." In Isa. 30 7, Egypt is called Rahab, because "she helpeth in vain." In Ps. 87 4, and elsewhere, we find the same use. The myth is also applied eschatologically. As God once created the earth, after destroying the monsters of chaos, so He shall again, out of a world reduced to chaos because of the wickedness of man, recreate a new earth and a new heaven by the same means; so the late Isaianic Apocalypse (Isa. 24-27). Here we have (27) three monsters: leviathan, the swift serpent or flying serpent (which appears to be the same leviathan mentioned in Job 38 as inhabiting the waters above the firmament and causing the eclipse); leviathan, the crooked serpent, which is the sea encircling the earth; and the dragon in the depths of the sea, which is the serpent of Am. 9 3. In a somewhat similar picture of the reduction of the earth to chaos through the wrath of God, in Jer. 4 23, birds, men, and beasts are destroyed; mountains and hills lose

It is clear that this cosmogony is closely related to that of Babylonia, where we have the same contest of Marduk (acting for the other gods, whom he thereby largely supplants) with a female monster, *tiāmat*,¹⁷ which is by root the same as the Hebrew *tēhôm*. This monster he splits in two, after inflating her with a great wind. He reduces her various allies to submission, and after treating her corpse with contumely, he divides it into two parts, out of one of which he makes the heaven and out of the other the earth, the waters being thus separated into two great seas, the one above the firmament of heaven and the other beneath the earth.

Turning from the popular Hebrew cosmogony to the formal cosmogony contained in Gen. 1-2 4, we find a striking difference. The latter is on a much higher and more spiritual plane. It is not only monotheistic, but has quite freed itself of anthropomorphic elements. It is, however, in certain points, plainly related, like the popular cosmogony, to Babylonian thought. The Babylonian cosmogony, as we know it in the cuneiform texts, is contained in seven tablets. Similarly the systematized cosmogony of the Priest Code, after the first two verses, is developed into seven sections or seven days. To this the first two verses constitute an introduction, describing the conditions antedating creation itself. The earth was *tohû* and *bohû*, two words evidently handed down from antiquity. This chaotic condition is further pictured as darkness upon the face of *tēhôm*. But *tēhôm*, here used without article, is, as already stated, radically

their solidity and shake to and fro, the light of the heavens is turned into darkness, and the earth becomes waste and void, *tōhû* and *bōhû*, the technical words for "chaos" used in Gen. 1 2. This cosmogony constituted, also, an element of the religion of the Hebrews, and was represented in their ritual and religious paraphernalia. So, in the temple of Solomon was a great laver, the so-called "sea," representing the *tēhôm* (1 K. 7 23, interpreted by comparison with Babylonian use), and on the candlesticks of Herod's temple, as represented on Titus's arch at Rome, are pictured apparently the monsters of that *tēhôm* whom Jahaweh had overcome. (Cf. the similar use in Babylonian temples.)

¹⁷ In the Babylonian myth we have also *apsu*, "sea," as a technical term or name. At least once in Hebrew (Isa. 40 17), the corresponding root *בַּח* has the same sense.

identical with the Babylonian *tiāmat* and is evidently, like *tohû* and *bohû*, a technical term of the cosmogonic myth. In this chaos God acted or displayed himself by means of the רוח which was מרחפת upon the face of the waters.

Now, in view of the evident relation of this cosmogony to the Babylonian cosmogony, we should naturally expect to find some relic of the contest of God with the monsters of chaos, and, more particularly, with *tiāmat*, inasmuch as we find that word reflected in the Hebrew *těhôm*. As we have seen in the common Hebrew cosmogony, the wind is Yahaweh's weapon or tool, of which he makes use to spread out the heavens.¹⁸ Similarly, in the Babylonian myth the winds are especially Marduk's weapons and tools in his struggle with *Tiāmat* and his formation of the world. It is therefore natural to find in this passage a reference to such a use of the wind by God, and to translate it literally, "and the wind of God was rushing upon the face¹⁹ of the waters." It is a relic of that contest of Yahaweh with the monsters of chaos common to the popular Hebrew and to Babylonian cosmogony, but so spiritualized that we have only the faintest indications of origin. In general, these first two verses of this chapter may be said to represent what remains, in the exalted cosmogony of the Priest Code, of the story of the battle of Marduk with *Tiāmat* of Babylonian mythology.

The remainder of the cosmogony, recording the Seven Words of Creation and their results, corresponds similarly

¹⁸ Besides the passage referred to above (Job 26 13) in which Yahaweh spreads out the heavens by His wind, רוח is represented as the implement of His activities in the following passages: Gen. 8 1 (P), He sends out the wind over the earth to dry it up; Ex. 15 10 (E) and Isa. 11 15, by the wind He brings the sea over the Egyptians; similarly, Ps. 147 18, by His wind He makes the congealed waters flow; Num. 11 31 (J), by a wind He brings in the quails; Isa. 27 3, He uses the wind to vanquish His foes; Isa. 4 4, He purges Jerusalem by a wind of judgment and a wind of burning; Hos. 13 15, the sirocco is the wind of Yahaweh to bring destruction as a punishment; Ps. 104 4, the winds are Yahaweh's messengers or angels, and in the following passages, where it might also be rendered breath: Ex. 15 3, Isa. 30 23, 59 13, Ps. 18 16, 35 35; in Isa. 11 4 it is similarly used of the Messiah as the representative of Yahaweh.

¹⁹ Note also how in Babylonian the *wind* is hurled against the *face* (*panu*) of *Tiāmat*.

to the seven tablets of the Babylonian cosmogony, but is again so spiritualized that it may be said that almost the only trace of its Babylonian origin still remaining is the number seven.²⁰ A connection between the two parts of this cosmogony (Gen. 1 1. 2 and Gen. 1 3-2 4) has been established by the words רוּחַ and וַיֵּאמֶר. Closely allied to the primitive meaning of רוּחַ, *wind*, is its secondary meaning, *breath*, so that it is often impossible to say which is the more proper rendering — by His *wind*, or by His *breath*, Yahaweh overthrows his foes, Yahaweh brings judgment upon His people, etc. As already pointed out, רוּחַ is the vital spirit by which God gave life to man, by which He restored dead Israel to life, etc. So here the *wind* of God is regarded as the vital spirit of the universe, His breath uttering the six creative words by which, in the conception of the cosmogony of the Priest Code, the successive acts of creation are accomplished.²¹

²⁰ Cf., however, the fourth day: the sun, moon, and stars set in the heaven to give light and rule the day and the night, which may contain a trace of the old polytheistic, astral worship, but corrected in part by the statement that these rulers of day and night are themselves creations of God; and the fifth day: where, among the creatures of the sea and air, both created out of the water, is recognized the continued existence of the great sea monsters, dragons, serpents, etc., of popular belief (v. 21) included in Job, Enoch and Esdras under the titles behemoth and leviathan. In the creation of man (v. 26) on the sixth day we have also a remnant of the more primitive anthropomorphic conception of God, and probably also a trace of polytheism in the words put in the mouth of God: "Let us make man in our image." Not that the writer means to speak of more than one god of Israel, but that he cannot yet altogether divest himself of the thought of a plurality of gods, and conceives of god or the gods as having of necessity a human form.

²¹ See, on the whole subject of Hebrew cosmogony, my article in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iv.

Animal Sources of Pollution

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AMONG things ritually unclean various classes are distinguished. Those which are not only unclean in themselves but which communicate uncleanness to others are called in the Talmud,¹ *fathers of pollution*, אבות הטמאות. One division in the group is made up of the eight swarming things (שרץ) to which the Tora gives a special paragraph (Lev. 11 29-38). This particularity of treatment shows "that the eight animals here enumerated were looked upon as causing peculiar and intense defilement, secondary only to that produced by a human corpse."² We have in fact a right to translate: "These are the most unclean to you of all swarming things which swarm upon the earth." The pollution proceeds, it should be noticed, not from the living animals but from their dead bodies: "Whoever touches them when they are dead shall be unclean until the evening; and everything upon which any of them falls when it is dead shall be unclean. . . . And if any of them falls into an earthen vessel, whatever is in it shall be unclean, and the vessel itself you shall break in pieces." Why should the eight have this evil preëminence over the other unclean animals?

I assume that the whole list of unclean animals is proscribed for religious reasons; that is, any one in the list might be connected with non-Yahwistic worship. Origen saw this clearly when he ascribed the uncleanness of prohibited animals to their connection with demons.³ But this

¹ Kelim, i. 1.

² Kalisch, *Commentary on Leviticus* (1872), ii. p. 168.

³ *Contra Celsum*, iv. 93. I owe the citations to Kalisch (ii. p. 72), who refers to Theodoret, and among the moderns to Lengerke. Kalisch himself declines to adopt the theory.

brings us only a little way. It accounts for the prohibitions contained in the rest of our chapter but not for the extra precautions enjoined in this paragraph.

It would be advisable to find out first what the animals are. But this is a matter of no small difficulty. Six of the names occur nowhere else in the Old Testament. One name is found in two other passages, but there designates a bird which would evidently be out of place among these שָׂרָף, so that we have reason to suspect the soundness of our text. Our Authorized Version translates: "The weasel, and the mouse, and the tortoise after its kind, and the ferret, and the chameleon, and the lizard, and the snail, and the mole." The Revised Version accepts the weasel and the mouse, but changes the rest of the list into "and the great lizard after its kind, and the gecko, and the land crocodile, and the lizard, and the sand-lizard, and the chameleon." It is a question whether there is improvement here. Certainly we may criticise the *land crocodile* as a term calculated to give a wrong impression. It is of course based on the Greek *ὁ κροκόδειλος ὁ χερσαῖος*. But the Greek word *κροκόδειλος* originally designated a lizard of any kind. The fact that early travelers called the huge amphibian of the Nile a lizard hardly justifies us in calling a lizard a land crocodile.

As the translators confess that the meaning of nearly all these words is uncertain, we may fasten our attention on the one which is tolerably certain, that is the mouse. Is there any reason why the mouse should be regarded as specially unclean? To answer this question we have only to remember the pronounced hostility shown by the religion of Yahweh to the worship of the dead, and to recall the widespread superstition which connects the mouse with the souls of the departed. In many regions the soul is directly identified with the mouse. When the witch is asleep her soul issues from her body in the form of a red mouse.⁴ The belief is attested from so many regions that we may well suppose it to have existed among the Semites. The renegade Israelites

⁴ Schulze, *Psychologie der Naturvölker*, p. 74; Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² i. p. 256; *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, i. p. 523.

who lodge in the graves commune with the dead by eating the broth of abominable things (Isa. 65 4), and we may confidently include the mouse among these abominable things. In fact, it is mentioned in a passage of the same tenor (66 17).

It would be precarious to assume that the mouse was portrayed among other creeping things (רמש) which were the objects of worship in the temple as late as the time of Ezekiel. But there was a tradition that golden images of mice were deposited in the sanctuary as votive offerings after a pestilence (1 Sam. 6 4). If this means that the mice had appeared in numbers in connection with the pestilence, which is not unlikely, the people would naturally see in them a confirmation of the popular belief — the souls of the dead were reappearing to seek their friends in their accustomed haunts. A Jewish tradition mentioned by Bochart says that he who eats of what the mouse has tasted forgets what he had learned; how much more he who eats the mice themselves! Is not this a faint reflection of the view which connects the mouse with ghosts? Forgetfulness is one of the attributes of the dead.

Why the mouse was identified with the ghost will be evident on reflection. The mouse is a night-roaming animal; it appears and disappears suddenly and mysteriously; it haunts houses; it seeks and yet shuns the company of man; it seems to come from the ground, the dwelling place of the shades; its voice is a squeak or chirp such as might plausibly be attributed to the disembodied spirit. In fact, the ghosts who are consulted by the necromancers give their responses in a chirp or twitter (Isa. 8 19; 29 4).⁵

I have already quoted the statement of a commentator to the effect that the pollution of these animals is second only to that produced by a human corpse. The reason is now clear. The mouse being a soul, or the second incarnation of a soul, is taboo just as a corpse is taboo. It is not necessary to determine why the corpse is taboo. The fact

⁵ Whether the mice sketched on certain Phœnician monuments (*CIS*, i. 1, p. 344) are evidences of this belief I will not attempt to say.

that the religion of Yahweh reacted strongly against everything connected with the souls of the dead explains the prohibition of the text. The dead mouse was less dangerous than the human corpse by one degree, but its defiling power was the same in kind. Food or drink which had come into contact with either was dangerous, and counteracted the sacredness which should characterize the people of Yahweh.

It is possible that our results thus far may help us to determine what the other animals of the list are. For it is not unreasonable to suppose that a similar superstition exists in the case of all. It is tolerably certain that one of the number was a lizard; probably more than one lizard is in the list. Now the lizard is an uncanny animal for the same reasons which exist in the case of the mouse. It lives in crevices in houses, comes forth and disappears unexpectedly, seems to court and yet to shun the company of man, often lurks about graves, utters unearthly sounds or what the imagination of man interprets as such. For these reasons it is associated with the spirits of the dead just as the mouse is. The soul of the witch may take this form as well as that of a mouse. The flesh of the lizard is used in magic rites as are fragments of human bodies. In Africa it is credited with power to discover the thief. Mohammed believed that lizards are descendants of disobedient Israelites, and the Bedawin still call the lizard the brother of man. These indications of ancient animistic belief show why the religion of Yahweh classes this animal with the mouse.⁶

The first name in our list is that of the חלד which our version renders *weasel*, following the lead of the Greek, apparently corroborated by the Targums. Bochart argues at length for the *mole*, which is favored by Arabic and Syriac usage. The Talmud seems to allow us to render either *mole* or *weasel*, or perhaps the tradition, wishing to be on the safe side, included both animals under the word. It is of course improbable that two animals so different in habit were called by the same name. And if the resemblance to the mouse

⁶ Schulze, *Psychologie der Naturvölker*, pp. 225, 274, 277; Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² i. p. 256; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, i. p. 326.

counts for anything, we should decide for the mole. The true mole is said to be unknown in Palestine, but there is a mole-rat which burrows underground like the true mole and is common about ruins and in the outskirts of villages.⁷ These habits put it into the same class with the mouse. So appropriate is the mole in this connection that the Greek translators found it later in the list. One wonders a little whether the house-rat so familiar to man does not belong here.

Of the mouse enough has been said, unless it is best to note that the second Targum specifies black, red, and white mice. Next in the list is the צב after its kind. The corresponding Arabic word designates a lizard, and this is doubtless the reason why the Revisers render *the great lizard*. The *dabb*, however, is a large lizard hunted and eaten by the Arabs, which does not haunt houses. It is doubtful, moreover, whether so many varieties of it were known in Palestine that the writer would feel obliged to caution his readers against 'its kinds.' The Greek gives us the *land-lizard* and omits the phrase *after its kinds*. The Targum has חרדוּנָא, which the lexicons variously render *tortoise*, *lizard*, and *crocodile*. Our Authorized Version has *tortoise*. In our perplexity we may take refuge in a tradition represented by Rashi that the *toad* is the animal intended. We thus escape the necessity of enumerating five kinds of lizards, after mentioning the lizard after its kinds. The toad is one of the animals in which the souls of the dead embody themselves in popular tradition, and thus belongs in the same class with the mouse and the lizard. It has not lost its uncanny character even in modern times. It inhabits gardens if not houses, lurks in holes and crannies, and is especially active at night, all which gives opportunity to the imagination.

Concerning the other five names we can do little but 'note the difficulty and pass on.' The אַנְקָה is represented in the traditions by the *shrew-mouse* (Greek and Latin), the *hedgehog* (Rashi), the *ferret* (AV), the *gecko* (RV), the *toad* (Luzzatto), the *chameleon*, and the *spider*. What

⁷ I do not find *νυμφίτα* in the lexicons. It is the reading of one manuscript according to the Cambridge Old Testament in Greek.

animals the Targums have in mind when they render *מִינְקַת חַיִּיאַ* and *פְּלִית חַיִּיאַ* is not easy to make out. Onkelos gives us *יֵלָא*, which the lexicons define to be the *centipede* or the *blood-sucker*.

For the remaining names we have not quite such an embarrassment of riches, and the most of the renderings already quoted recur as equivalents for one or other of the Hebrew words in our list. For the sake of completeness we may add the *newt*, the *skink* (a kind of lizard), the *frog*, the *tor-toise*, the *salamander*, the *sand-lizard*, and the *snail*. Some of these are improbable because we have other Hebrew words for them, as the *hedgehog* and the *frog*. One suggestion I will venture to make though I am aware that it rests on a slender basis. As was remarked above one name in this list (*תְּנִשְׁמַת*) occurs also in the list of unclean birds. This would seem to make it impossible here in the class of *שָׂרֵץ* were it not for the fact that there is one animal which partakes of the nature of a bird and of that of a reptile—to the common man, that is. This is of course the bat. And while I have no direct assertion to quote proving that the bat is ever thought to be a returning spirit, I think it altogether probable that such a belief exists or has existed. It is to be observed, on the authority of Professor Bacon, that in Palestine the chief habitat of the bat is the tombs; with which cf. Isa. 2 20. This fact would of course strengthen my argument. The bat indeed seems to lend itself to just such a superstition. The only objection to finding it in our text is that we have another Hebrew word for it. But as there are several species of bat in Palestine this objection is not conclusive.

What I have tried to show is that this list of specially unclean animals adds to the evidence already in our possession that the worship of spirits of deceased men was a part of the primitive religion of Israel.

Some Ancient Variants in Hosea with Scribe's or Corrector's Mark

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THERE are some interesting variant readings in the book of Hosea, which are all accompanied by the mark or note of the scribe who copied the text or of the corrector who put them in the margin, whence they later came into the text. They are all the more interesting because as a rule glosses and variant readings are without the scribe's or corrector's statement, except the frequent $\text{היא} = i.e.$

The first example is in 9 13:

אפרים כאשר ראיתי לצור שתולה בנוה
אפרים להוציא אל הרג בניו

The text of the first line is notoriously difficult, and the emendations and proposals of transpositions are numerous. And there is much justification for this feeling of perplexity, for the ancient Hebrew copyist who wrote down this line could not quite make it out himself, and so he wrote after אפרים, which he could plainly read, the note כאשר ראיתי, as far as I see (it is as follows) לצור שתולה בנוה. That these three words are senseless in this connection everybody knows. Fortunately, however, a reader or another copyist put the correct text in the margin, whence it found its way into the text להוציא אל הרג בניו. Most likely this reading was taken from some better manuscript. According to common usage the corrupt reading with the scribe's statement כאשר ראיתי was left in the text side by side with the correct reading. It should have been removed, but apparently the text had already been invested with sanctity. This

should not be overlooked in connection with the history of the canon.¹

Another somewhat different note is found in 12 11 :

ודברתי על הנבאים ואנכי חזון הרבתי
וכיד הנבאים אדמה

Of all the proposed translations and emendations, most of which may be found in Harper's *Commentary on Amos and Hosea* (1905), not one seems to show that its author felt the awkwardness of the double הנבאים in such close conjunction. Everybody, however, feels that על הנבאים in the first line is impossible, and it is therefore usually and rightly changed to אל הנבאים in accordance with many other passages in which אל and על are confounded. Now, an ancient reader noticed this difficulty also, Yahveh could not mean here that he had spoken *against* or *concerning* the prophets, and so he put in the margin the note וכיד הנבאים אדמה, *I regard this as equivalent to* כיד הנבאים. This is his interpretation, and that he interprets the phrase correctly is beyond doubt. His marginal comment got into the text, was joined on to the first line by the copula, and has ever since created difficulties. Note again the reverence for the text.

There seems to be a third example of such corrections with a corrector's mark in 10 9. The case is not quite so clear here on account of certain corruptions in the context which must first be removed. It is quite clear to me that v. 8 is not correctly preserved. Not indeed that the genuineness of און תטאת need be doubted with Wellhausen, Nowack, and Marti, for it is almost certainly genuine (van Hoonacker, Duhm), but the middle part of the verse, *thorns and thistles shall grow up on their altars*, is corrupt. This has so far escaped detection, simply because the text as it stands is

¹ The כאשר ראיתי of the copyist will remind Assyriologists of the familiar *ul idi*, *I do not know*, of the copyists of the cuneiform inscriptions. Professor Paul Haupt has made use of this in his *Biblische Liebestlieder*, p. 27, where he suggests that לא ידעתי in Cant. 6 12 was probably put in by a copyist who could not make out the first line in the manuscript from which he copied. Professor Haupt restores the reading conjecturally, *Erfüllt ist der Wunsch*. In Hos. 9 13 we do not need to resort to conjecture, because the correct text is preserved in the doublet which is given directly after it.

smooth, and sensible too if the preceding sentence alone is considered, for it carries on the thought of the destruction of the high places in the first part of the verse. But the wonderful sentence that follows with its striking portrayal of the despair of the Israelites, *and they shall say to the mountains cover us, and to the hills fall upon us*, is left unconnected with the preceding. It does not carry on the thought of v. 8 a. b. Indeed, the prediction that thorns and thistles will grow on the altars has carried us too far for this expression of despair which cannot immediately follow v. 8 b. Instead of the conventional sentence that we read there now, the text must have read originally somewhat as follows:

וְקָצִי וְחֲרָדִי וְחָרִי כָּרְמִי מִזִּבְחֵיהֶם

for

קוֹץ וְדָרְדָר יֵעָלוּ עַל-מִזְבְּחֹתָם

and horrified and trembling and full of anguish will be all who used to sacrifice on them (on the high places, *lit.* all their sacrificers), *and they shall say to the mountains cover us, and to the hills fall upon us!*

The changes in the proposed text are slight and graphically easily accounted for. And the accumulation of the terms of fear and horror is quite what we should expect immediately before that tragic sentence of v. 8 b.

Now follows our verse

מִימֵי הַגִּבְעָה חֲמַאת יִשְׂרָאֵל

שֵׁם עֶמֶד לֹא תִשָּׁנֶה בִּגְבֻעָה וְגו'

The long list of translations and emendations in Harper's *Commentary* witnesses again to the difficulty and apparent hopelessness of the text. In the light of our first two examples of variants with scribal marks, I venture to suggest that an ancient Hebrew student of the text of Hosea wrote a marginal note on *מִימֵי הַגִּבְעָה* prefacing it by *שֵׁם עֶמֶד*, *there stood*: *וְלֹא תִשָּׁנֶה בִּגְבֻעָה*. And most probably this was not a conjecture of his, but the reading of a better manuscript from which he had taken it. He meant, of course, that this correction should take the place of *מִימֵי הַגִּבְעָה*. If it had simply been substituted, there would have been no difficulty,

but again the corrupt text was retained, and the correction incorporated, unfortunately with a slightly wrong division.

If we take the corrected reading with the immediately preceding context, we get the following well connected and original sounding sentence, *and they shall say to the mountains cover us, and to the hills fall upon us, but the sin of Israel shall not protect them in (with) the hills!* "The sin of Israel" had just been mentioned and explained in v. 8. Punctuate חַטָּאת, and תְּשִׁיגִם from שׁוּג, סִיג, *to fence about, protect*, cf. שָׁכַךְ, סָכַךְ. For the thought compare Isa. 2 10. 19. 21, Rev. 6 18.

The reading makes it evident that the immediately following words מִלְחָמָה עַל בְּנֵי עוֹלָה, which are now part of v. 9, belong to a new sentence which also has suffered slightly as a result of the incorporation of the correction. The parallelism shows that we must take בָּאוּרִי of v. 10 with the preceding, but reading it הַבְּאוּרִי, the ה had been omitted by haplography, cf. עוֹלָה: *I will bring war upon the evil-doers.* The parallel line makes this quite certain, whether we read with the Masoretic text *and nations will be gathered against them*, or with the slight change of וְאֶסְבֹּ to וְאָסַף, cf. Mic. 4 6, *and I will gather nations against them.* The tenses are, of course, prophetic. In either case וְאֶסְבֹּ appears to be a corrupt variant of וְאֶסְבֹּ (ו), the corrupt word remaining in the text with the correction, as usual.

Presumably these three variants are but representatives of similar ones in other parts of the Hebrew Bible. The recognition of the formulas

כַּאֲשֶׁר רָאִיתִי
אֲדָמָה
שֶׁם עָמַד

may perhaps unlock some other difficult passages. Incidentally they reveal the personal and even subjective side of the work of the ancient scribes and students. For that reason their readings must be subjected to just as rigid criticism as those of later scholars, for they need not necessarily be the original readings either. These writers were as little inerrant as the authors of the later *Qerêš*. But it is of much

interest that they were all very ancient, for they antedate the Greek Version, in which their readings are all found.

A similar scribal note in the Greek translation of Ez. 43 3 has been pointed out by Dr. John P. Peters in this JOURNAL, vol. xii (1893), p. 47, where *διαγεγραμμένοι* is shown to be a corrector's remark = *erased*. Dr. Peters adduces parallels from the Babylonian and Chinese scribes.

The Composition of Job 24-30

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PROFESSOR MACDONALD in his article, "The Original Form of the Legend of Job" published in vol. xiv of this JOURNAL, graphically expressed the feeling with which every attentive reader rises from a study of the book of Job. After giving an admirable statement of the growth of the soul as portrayed in the first half of the book, Macdonald says (p. 69): "But suddenly his soul's progress is cut off; there comes the great break, and the rest of the book, as we have it, is a chaos. Nor do I think it was ever anything else. So far he had left all in connected order; the rest consists of fragments dating from different periods in his development." A little later in speaking of the speech of the Lord, cc. 38-41, Macdonald says: "This speech in itself is in evident disorder, and probably we have it in two alternative forms, one of which only would eventually have been chosen. But, besides this, the tone of the speech gives great difficulty. . . . It is hard to draw any distinction between its position and that of Job's three friends. To all appearance it is by the writer of the rest of the poem, but after he had written the later speeches of Job he could never possibly have regarded this speech as an answer to them. . . . I am driven, therefore, to believe that it must have been written at an earlier point of the poet's own development, before the problem had assumed for him the complexity and difficulty which it did later. This will appear a somewhat daring assumption, but in the face of the facts none other is possible."

Professor Macdonald has in this passage eloquently set

forth the disordered state of Job from c. 23 onwards. This fact all must admit. In explaining that disorder by the supposition that the remainder of the book contains simply unfinished studies, and that the poet never really completed his poem, or even had a solution for the great problem which his genius enabled him to see so clearly, Professor Macdonald raises two important questions, to each of which a few words should be devoted.

The present writer cannot agree that the poet presents no solution of the problem of suffering. He agrees with Duhm (*Hiob*, p. 180 ff.) and Peake (*Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, p. 100, and *Job* in the *Century Bible*, pp. 18, 19, 343), that the poet has presented a real solution, and that the profoundest that can be given. He has pictured Job as finding the solution of his problem, not in a reasoned explanation or a theology, but in a religious experience. The poet was astute enough to understand that such mysteries as he made the Lord express so impressively are really incomprehensible to the human mind. The finite plummet cannot fathom the depths of the Infinite. His hero, Job, finds his satisfaction in a first-hand experience of God. In this experience he learned, as those who have real experience of religion always learn, to let many of his questions go unanswered, and to go on his way happy because he was travelling with an Infinite Companion who knows the answers. Our poet was profound not only as thinker and poet but also in his religion. His solution by this means is the only satisfactory one that is attainable by man.

He was too great an artist to present this solution in formal homily. Instead he portrays Job as coming to the interview with Jehovah confident and defiant. The majestic presence of God affected Job as he had little dreamed it would. Springs of feeling were touched in ways that he had not anticipated. Penitence was born, trust sprang up in his soul, and he who had longed for a theodicy in the presence of God beyond the grave, unexpectedly found the solution of his problem and his sufferings in communion with God here.

In presenting this solution the poet sets forth at once the function and the limitation of the intellect in religion. He shows that it is the function of the intellect to keep theology in touch with knowledge and experience, and to compel it to abandon dogmas which in the light of more accurate knowledge have ceased to be adequate explanations of facts. On the other hand, he pictures with equal clearness, though with an artistic touch so delicate that many have overlooked it, the fact that the mind cannot adequately explain life and suffering, and that the one way to satisfaction is in an experience of God which begets faith and trust. He shows that a second-hand religion of faith in the theology of some one else is sure to break down when most needed. The emphasis which he places on first-hand experience places this poet in the front rank of the world's religious seers.

If one recognizes the great purpose of the poet in the address of Jehovah, and removes from that address as later interpolations the description of behemoth and leviathan (40 15-41 34), and one or two other minor glosses (40 6, 7 and 42 3a, and 4), all of which many scholars have recognized as interpolations, we regain, I believe, the address of the Lord and his final colloquy with Job in the form in which the poet left it, and in a form which makes a worthy climax both to the soul-development of Job and to one of the world's greatest poems.

It is now recognized by many interpreters that the Elihu speeches, cc. 32-37, are a later interpolation. This view the present writer shares. The removal of these chapters from the poem is a long step toward the recovery of the form in which the great artist left his work. It is not the intention of this paper, however, to discuss these chapters. The writer agrees with the conclusion set forth by Dr. Helen H. Nichols, a former member of the Semitic Seminary of Bryn Mawr College, in the January number of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (vol. xxvii, p. 97), that the mark of two different correctors of the poem is combined in the Elihu speeches.

If we thus find it possible to trace a worthy artistic form

for the poem after c. 31, what can be said of the form of cc. 24-31? It should be noted that the problem connects itself in reality with cc. 24-30 only, for if we place 31 38-40, between vv. 34 and 35, so as to bring vv. 35-37, the splendid climax of Job's appeal, at the end, no serious problem, apart from textual corruption, presents itself in the chapter.

It has long been recognized that Job 24-30 is in an imperfect form. This imperfection is manifested (leaving textual corruption for the moment out of account) in two ways. 1. The plan followed in the poem up to this point is here lost. The poet's plan made the three friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, Zophar, answer Job in turn, speaking in the order mentioned. As the text stands Eliphaz has his three full speeches. Bildad has his also, though his third speech is cut down to six verses, but there is no third speech for Zophar. 2. There are in these chapters many passages which appear strange on the lips of Job—passages in which he utters sentiments the opposite of those which he had expressed in earlier passages. For example, in 24 18-21 Job portrays the hard lot of the wicked in the world in a way inconsistent with his former utterances, and with his statement in 24 23 that God gives the wicked security. Other examples will be cited presently.

Is the confusion in this part of the poem due to the fact that we have here merely a collection of uncompleted sketches by the poet? Several modern interpreters, as Grill, Kuenen, Bickell, Duhm, Peake, McFadyen, and Marshall, have taken the ground that the poet originally gave each of the friends three speeches, and that the original form of the poem can, perhaps, be restored. With this view the present writer agrees, though he thinks that the original form has never yet been successfully discovered, unless in the present paper he should be so happy as to have hit upon it. Whether this prove to be the case or not, a new discussion of the problem will do no harm.

All have noticed that Bildad's third speech in c. 25 is too short. The favorite way of lengthening this (that advocated

by Grill, Kuenen, Bickell, Duhm, McFadyen, and Peake)¹ is to attach to it c. 26 in whole or in part. Duhm and McFadyen attach the whole of it; Grill, Kuenen, and Peake, vv. 5-14; while Bickell uses only vv. 12-14 in this way, rejecting vv. 5-11 because the LXX did not contain them. Those who do not, like Bickell, reject vv. 5-11 as a later interpolation believe that the omission of the LXX at this point is a witness to the fact that the text has been disturbed here. The reasons for transferring a part or all of c. 26 to Bildad are, then: (1) that c. 26 is inappropriate in the mouth of Job at this stage of the argument; (2) that the LXX reveals a disturbance of the text here; and (3) that the speech of Bildad in c. 25 is too short. To each of these reasons a few words should be directed.

1. The feeling that c. 26 is unfitting in the mouth of Job is based on the facts that in c. 24 Job is represented as in one of his bitterest moods and there declares that the Almighty, by deferring judgment on the wicked, in reality protects them; that in 27 2 he declares that God has vexed his soul; and that in 31 35-37 he prepares to enter God's presence in a defiant spirit. It is maintained that the calmer meditation of c. 26 on the inscrutability of God and his ways is inconsistent with Job's mood both before and afterwards. A closer examination, however, removes this objection and reveals some strong reasons for believing that the poet originally put this chapter in the mouth of Job. The poet has throughout the poem exhibited his great skill as an artist by his graphic portrayal of the way in which in illness splendid outbursts of an essentially noble nature may be mingled with wild utterances which are prompted by disordered nerves

¹ See Kuenen, *Bücher des Alten Testaments*, III (Leipzig, 1874), p. 137 ff.; Bickell, *WZKM*, 1892; and *Das Buch Job* (Vienna, 1894); Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob*; McFadyen, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 267; and Peake, *Job in the Century Bible*, pp. 33 and 235 ff. Peake reserves 26 1-4 to Job. Marshall, *Book of Job*, in *An American Commentary on the Old Testament*, Philadelphia, 1904, combines 26 5-14 with c. 25, but makes the improbable suggestion that it is a speech of Zophar. Marshall finds Bildad's third speech in 24 18-21. I agree with him that 24 18-21 belongs to Bildad, but 26 5-14 is not in the rough manner of Zophar.

and the unstable feelings of an invalid. Thus in 13 15 f. at the very moment that he makes Job say:

“Behold he will slay me; I may not hope,
But my ways will I maintain to his face,”

he represents Job as expressing in the same breath the innate faith of a normal nature in God, thus:

“This also shall be my salvation;
For a godless man shall not come before him.”

Similarly in 16 12-19, where Job is saying that God had delivered him to misfortune to destroy him, he suddenly bursts out with the cry:

“Even now, behold, my witness is in heaven,
And he that voucheth for me is on high.”

Again in 19 25-27 in the same breath in which Job states the imminence and inevitableness of his dissolution the poet makes him cry out:

“But I know that my Vindicator liveth,
And he shall arise as a last One over the dust.”

It is a part of the same graphic and artistic portrayal of the mixture of sane insight and disordered nerves in a manly invalid, which led the poet to represent his hero as ceasing for a moment to be stung by the unjust accusations of his friends, and to let his thoughts wander away for a little in a calmer mood to the mysteries of the Being who formed the world.

Two other considerations confirm this view. Job is made in cc. 7, 9, and 12, though in a different mood, to treat of the inscrutable nature of God's ways. The thought is not, accordingly, a new one for the poet to attribute to him. Again the poet throughout the poem, next to the address of the Lord, places his finest poetry in the mouth of Job. Elsewhere the allusions to the Babylonian creation poem, which afford some of the finest imagery of the book, are given to Job (see cc. 3 and 9). One feels that the splendid passage beginning in 26 12—based, as the writer pointed out years

ago (*JAOS*, xv. 22), upon a passage of the Babylonian poem—was never intended by the poet for Bildad, whom he throughout represents as the commonplace repeater of old saws. The passage runs:

“He stilleth the sea by his power,
By his understanding he smiteth through Rahab.

The bars of heaven fear him²
His hand hath pierced the fierce serpent.”

2. As to the fact that the LXX omitted vv. 5-11, a study of the habits of the LXX translator (or translators) reveals the fact that what were regarded as repetitions in altered form were often omitted. Sometimes this led to the omission of a phrase, sometimes, to the second member of a parallelism, sometimes, a verse or more which restates the thought in altered form, and sometimes, quotations from other parts of the poem. Here and in 21 28-33, it appears that this habit led to the omission of several verses. It does not follow, therefore, that we have external testimony that the text here has been disturbed.

3. As to the brevity of the speech of Bildad, it will be shown presently that that can be lengthened in a more appropriate way without drawing upon c. 26.

If now we turn to c. 24, a number of difficulties present themselves. Vv. 5-8 interrupt Job's description of the doings of certain classes of violent wicked men, who kidnap children and make them slaves, by the description of some wretched outcasts who would be powerless to harm any one. The passage seems clearly out of place; it reminds one of the words of Bildad in 18 5 ff.

Again it should be noted that the LXX omitted vv. 14 c-18 a, and that vv. 17-22. 24, which describe the swift punishment of the wicked, are quite out of harmony with Job's theme in this chapter, which is that God delays the punishment of the wicked, and thus encourages wickedness. It is impossible that a sane poet should have put them in the

² Instead of the Heb. ברוחו שמים שפורה, I would read with ~~OLZE~~ ברחי שמים שטררו. Professor Lyon, *JBL*, xiv. 131-135, emends differently: ברוחת שמים שברה.

mouth of Job here; they too are in the tone of Bildad. Once more in c. 30, vv. 3-8, similar in tone to the verses just mentioned in c. 24, form a disturbing element. Job is describing how in contrast to his former dignity men of lower station mock at him. Vv. 3-8 introduce into the midst of this the description of some outcasts from society, skulking about in holes, not near enough to mock Job, and so low that even one in his condition would not care for their scorn.

If, now, we relieve cc. 24 and 30 of these disturbing verses, it is possible to attach them to c. 25 so as to obtain a speech for Bildad of the usual length, and one which treats a favorite theme of his in his characteristic way. The order which seems most probable is: 25 1-6 24 17. 18. 5-8 30 3-8 24 21. 22. 19. 20. 24. Reconstructed thus the address falls into three parts: 1. The contrast between God's holiness and man's impurity; 2. The fate of ignoble sinners; 3. The fate of powerful sinners. The portion of it reconstructed from cc. 24 and 30 reads as follows:

- 25 6 "How much less man that is a worm,
And the son of man that is a worm.
- 24 17 For they seek for themselves the deep darkness,
But they find the terror of death-shade.
- 18 He is swift upon the face of the waters,
Their portion is cursed in the earth.
- 5 Like wild asses they go out
To their work of seeking prey;
Sweet is bread to their children.
- 6 In the fields by night they reap,
And the vintage of the rich they glean.
- 7 Naked they pass the night unclothed,
And in the cold have no covering.
- 8 With the showers of the mountains they are wet,
And without shelter hug the rock.
- 30 3 They are lifeless from want and famine,
They flee to the wilderness,
The mother of desolation.
- 4 They pluck saltwort by the shrubs,
And roots of broom are their food.

- 5 From people they are thrust out,
 They cry after them as after a thief.
 6 In most dreadful valleys they dwell,
 In holes of the earth and the rocks.
 7 Under the bushes they bray,
 Under the chick-pea they couple.
 8 Offspring of fools, yea offspring of nameless men,
 They are scourged out of the land.
 24 21 One devoureth the barren that beareth not
 And doeth not good to the widow
 22 He drags off the powerless by his strength;
 He rises up and no one is sure of his life.
 19 Drought and heat consume the snow-waters;
 Sheol, sinners.
 20 The womb shall forget him;
 The worm feed sweetly on him;
 No longer shall he be remembered,
 For broken like a tree is unrighteousness.
 24 His exaltation is brief and he is gone;
 He is brought low and withers like saltwort,
 And cut off like the top of an ear of corn.”³

³ The above translation presupposes the following emendations in the Massoretic text:

In 24 17, instead of	בָּקָר	read	בָּקָרוֹ	with SA.
“ “ “ “	יָבִיר	“	יָבָרוֹ	“ SS.
“ “ “ “	בלהות	“	בלהת.	
“ 24 18 omit	כרמים דרך	לא	as a hopelessly corrupt gloss.	
“ 24 5, instead of	הן פראים	read	כפראים	with GILSHIEA.
“ “ “ “	ערבה	“	ערב	“ OXE.
“ 24 6, “ “	בלילו	“	בלילה	“ GIE.
“ “ “ “	רשע	“	עשיר	“ Bu, Du, Be.
“ 30 3, “ “	אָמֵשׁ	“	אָם	“ Di, Hoff, Pe, Kl, BDB.
“ 30 5, “ “	נֹי	“	נֹי	“ Be.
“ 24 22, “ “	אברים	“	אברים	“ GIE.
“ “ “ “	בחין	“	בחיו	“ GIE.
“ 24 19, “ “	חטאי	“	חטאים.	
“ 24 24, “ “	רומו	“	רומו	“ GIE.
“ “ “ “	וְהַמִּדָּ	“	וְהַמִּדָּ	“ GIE.
“ “ “ “	ככל	“	כמקח	“ GIE.
“ “ “ “	יִקְפֹּצֵן	“	יִקְפֹּץ	“ Be.
“ “ “ “	יָמְלוּ	“	יָמַל	“ GIE.

By the removal of this material Job's addresses in cc. 24 and 30 become again consistent, assuming a form which one can well believe was the poet's own. The improvement in c. 30 is easily tested by reading the chapter without vv. 3-8. Job's address in c. 24 becomes as follows:

- 1 "Why are times hidden by the Almighty,
That they who know him see not his days?
- 2 The wicked remove landmarks;
They forcibly remove flocks and their shepherds.
- 3 Asses of the orphans they drive off;
They take in pledge the widow's ox.
- 4 They thrust the needy from the way;
Together the poor of the land hide.
- 9 They pluck the fatherless from the breast,
The suckling of the poor they take in pledge.
- 10 Naked, they go without clothing,
And hungry, they carry the sheaves.
- 11 Within their walls they make oil;
They tread the winepresses and suffer thirst.
- 12 From the city and houses they groan,
The souls of children cry out,
Yet their prayer God hears not!
- 13 These are among rebels against light;
They know not its ways;
They walk not in its paths.
- 14 ab At darkness the murderer riseth;
He kills his adversary and enemy.
- 15 Also the adulterer's eye awaits twilight,
Saying, No eye shall see me;
And he puts a covering on his face.
- 14 c Also by night the thief goes forth,
16 ab In the dark he digs through houses
Which by day he had marked for himself.
- 16 c They do not know the light.
- 23 He (God) gives them security and they rest,
And his eye is on their ways.

- 25 If it isn't so, who will prove me a liar,
And bring my words to naught?"⁴

Passing, now, to c. 27, this chapter, although it begins appropriately as a speech of Job, contains, like c. 24, much material inconsistent with his point of view. This material is contained in vv. 7-11. 13-23. It is quite in the style of the speeches of Zophar in the earlier part of the poem, and Stuhlemann, Kuenen, Bickell, Duhm, Peake, and McFadyen have correctly attributed this portion to Zophar. Thus each of the three friends, on this view, were given three speeches by the poet, and the poem was symmetrical to the end. This speech of Zophar beginning at 27 7 originally followed c. 26. Vv. 1-6. 12 of c. 27 are to be connected with cc. 29-31 as a part of Job's last long speech.

The praise of Wisdom, c. 28, is, as most recent interpreters have recognized, a still later interpolation. It can be attributed neither to Job nor to Zophar. The reasons for this view are well known and need not be set forth here. Duhm has suggested that it was originally a complete independent work, beginning, "Whence then cometh wisdom?" and having this question as a refrain recurring at regular intervals.

Attractive as the view is, it is encountered by this difficulty. 28 14-19 was not only omitted by the LXX, but internal evidence seems to indicate that the verses are a later addition to the chapter. The theme of the chapter is

⁴ In the above rendering the following textual changes are presupposed :

v. 2	Before	נבלות	insert	רשעים	with	GE.
" "	Instead of	ורעו	read	ורעו	"	GE.
" 9	" "	ועל	"	ועל	"	Kamp., Bu, Du, Be, Pe.
" 12	" "	מתים	"	ובתים	"	GE.
" "	" "	חללים	"	עללים	"	GE.
" "	" "	ישם הפלה	"	שמע הפלה	"	SA.
" 13	" "	ישבו	"	ילכו	"	GLSKE.
" 14	" "	לאור	"	לחשך	"	GE.
" "	" "	עני ואביון	"	צר ואיב	"	Merx, Du, Be, Pe.
" "	" "	יהי כנוב	"	יהלך נוב	"	Merx, Bu, Du, Be, Pe.
" "	Transfer v. 14 c	to come	after v. 15,	Bu, Marsh.		
" 16	Instead of	חממו	read	חמם	with	SA.
" 25	" "	לאל	"	לאן	"	Θ.

"Where can wisdom be found?" Its point is that there is a source of supply for everything else but this. Vv. 14-19 enlarged at length upon the price of wisdom, a matter mentioned, indeed, in v. 13, but which when extended over several verses is irrelevant, and weakens the comparison of the whole chapter. If these verses are dropped out, the chapter seems more like a fragment than a complete work.

The final speech of Job, as already intimated, consisted of 27 1-6. 12 29 2-25 30 1. 2. 9-31 31 1-34. 38-40. 35-37. Job first makes a brief reply to Zophar's last remarks (27 1-6. 12), then plaintively recalls his past happiness before misfortunes overtook him (c. 29), contrasts with that his present forlorn condition in which he is mocked by the meanest of those who used to fawn upon him (c. 30), and reasserts his innocence and makes his final appeal to God (c. 31).

We are led, accordingly, to believe that the author of Job left his masterly poem in a fully finished form, and that the disordered condition in which the last half of our book has come down to us is not due to the poet, but to those pious, orthodox saints, who in every generation are wont to lay their hands on critics, whether "lower" or "higher," whether critics of theology or critics of society. The splendid genius of the poem did not permit them to suppress it, so they mixed and diluted the last half of it, that its blasphemous poison might be made to bear an odor of sanctity.

The writer feels sure that this general position is correct, even if his reconstruction of cc. 24 and 25 (the special contribution of this paper to the subject) should ultimately be proved to be wrong.⁵

⁵ Since the above article was in type, the writer has observed that Professor Macdonald, in the article "Job" in the *Standard Bible Dictionary*, seems inclined to the theory (although he does not fully commit himself to it) that the work of the original poet ends with ch. 31, that the Elihu author next added his orthodox corrective, and that the Yahweh speeches are by a still later writer. He remarks, "The speech of the Lord would have satisfied him [the Elihu author] so that he could not write anything further."

This view seems to the present writer to miss the deep significance of the final colloquy between Yahweh and Job. Quite apart, however, from this consideration, is it safe to dogmatize as to what would satisfy a prosaically minded defender of orthodoxy?

The Special Source of the Third Gospel

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NASHOTAH HOUSE

THE following article is a continuation of the study published in this JOURNAL, vol. 29, pp. 139-180, under the title *Linguistic Evidence for the Lucan Source L*. References in what follows to the pages of that study are enclosed in brackets. References to "Weiss" are to the pages of *Die Quellen der synoptischen Überlieferung*, by Bernhard Weiss, Leipsic, 1908. As was the case with the former study, the present article aims to systematize the arguments of Dr. Weiss rather than to contribute original matter, except in details.

The material in the Third Gospel may be divided into classes as follows: —

(A)

The following sections of Lc. correspond so closely with the corresponding sections of Mc. that direct dependence of Lc. on Mc. must be assumed. If Lc. had any other sources here, he has used them only for the most minor matters.

1. 4 31-44, Mc. 1 21-39. A day in Capernaum.
2. 6 1-2, Mc. 2 23-24. Walk through fields.
3. 6 6-11, Mc. 3 1-6. Man with withered hand.
4. 8 9-18, Mc. 4 10-25. Parable of sower (interpretation, etc.).
5. 8 22-39, Mc. 4 35-5 20. Gadarene demoniac.
6. 8 40-56, Mc. 5 21-43. Jairus' daughter, etc.
7. 9 1-6, Mc. 6 7-13. Mission of Twelve.
8. 9 7-9, Mc. 6 14-16. Herod's opinion.
9. 9 10 a, Mc. 6 30. Return of Twelve.

10. 9 18-20, Mc. 8 27-30. St. Peter's confession.
11. 9 21-27, Mc. 8 31-9 1. Prediction of Passion, etc.
12. 9 46-50, Mc. 9 33-40. Controversy over precedence.
13. 18 15-30, Mc. 10 13-31. Little children, rich man.
14. 18 35 b-43 a, Mc. 10 46-52. Bartimæus.
15. 19 29 b-36, Mc. 11 1-8. Palm Sunday.
16. 19 45-46, Mc. 11 15-17. Cleansing of Temple.
17. 20 1-8, Mc. 11 27-33. Question of authority.
18. 20 19, Mc. 12 12. Conspiracy of rulers.
19. 20 27-33, Mc. 12 18-23. Question of Sadducees.
20. 20 39-44, Mc. 12 28-37. David's Son.
21. 20 45-47, Mc. 12 38-40. Warnings against scribes.
22. 21 1-4, Mc. 12 41-44. Widow's mite.
23. 21 6-7, Mc. 13 2-4. Introduction to Parousia Discourse.
24. 22 7-13, Mc. 14 12-16. Choice of upper room.

After this point Lc.'s resemblances to Mc. rarely extend closely for even a verse at a time, and are often mere linguistic touches.

(B)

In the following sections, the resemblances to Mc. are so close that Mc. evidently was Lc.'s authority, but yet there are divergences from Mc. and agreements with Mt. that cannot readily be explained by editorial considerations.

1. 3 2 b-4, Mc. 1 2-4, Mt. 3 1-3. 5. Appearance of Baptist.
2. 3 16, Mc. 1 8, Mt. 3 11. Baptism of the Greater One.
3. 3 21-22, Mc. 1 9-11, Mt. 3 13-17. Baptism of Christ.
4. 5 17-26, Mc. 2 1-12, Mt. 9 1-8. Healing of paralytic.
5. 6 3-5, Mc. 2 25-28, Mt. 12 3-8. David and shew-bread.
6. 8 4-8, Mc. 4 1-9, Mt. 13 1-9. Parable of sower.
7. 8 19-21, Mc. 3 31-35, Mt. 12 46-50. Christ's relatives.
8. 9 10 b-17 Mc. 6 31-44, Mt. 14 13-21. Feeding of Five Thousand.
9. 20 9-18, Mc. 12 1-11, Mt. 21 33-44. Parable of vineyard.
10. 21 8-11, Mc. 13 5-8, Mt. 24 4-7. Last Woes.
11. 21 29-33, Mc. 13 28-31, Mt. 24 32-35. The fig-tree.

(C)

Passages similar to those in (B) but without the agreements with Mt.: —

1. 5 27-39, Mc. 2 13-22. The question of fasting.
2. 6 12-19, Mc. 3 7-19. List of Apostles, etc.
3. 9 28-42, Mc. 9 2-29. The Transfiguration.
4. 18 31-34, Mc. 10 32-34. Prediction of Passion.
5. 20 20-26, Mc. 12 13-17. Question of tribute.
6. 20 34-38, Mc. 12 24-27. Marriage and resurrection.

(D)

Passages where Lc. and Mt. agree closely in non-Marcan matter, — *i.e.* the “shorter Q” : —

1. 3 7-9, 17, Mt. 3 7-10, 12. The Baptist’s preaching.
2. 4 1-13, Mt. 4 1-11. The Temptation.
3. 6 39, Mt. 15 14. Blind leading the blind.
4. 6 40, Mt. 10 24. Servant and master.
5. 6 41-42, Mt. 7 3-5. Mote and beam.
6. 6 43-44, Mt. 7 18-19, 16 b, Mt. 12 33. Tree and fruit.
7. 6 45, Mt. 12 35. Treasure and heart.
8. 7 6 b-9, Mt. 8 8-10. The centurion’s faith.
9. 7 22-35, Mt. 11 4-11, 16-19. Christ and the Baptist.
10. 9 57-60, Mt. 8 19-22. Demands on followers.
11. 10 2, Mt. 9 37-38. Laborers and harvest.
12. 10 3-12, Mt. 10 7-16. Mission Charge.
13. 10 13-15, Mt. 11 21-23 a. Woes on cities.
14. 10 21-22, Mt. 11 25-27. Christ’s Thanksgiving.
15. 10 23-24, Mt. 13 16-17. Blessedness of sight.
16. 11 2-4, Mt. 6 9-13. Lord’s Prayer.
17. 11 9-13, Mt. 7 7-11. Assurance of prayer.
18. 11 15-20, Mt. 12 24-28 (in part). Beelzebub.
19. 11 23-26, Mt. 12 30, 43-45. Return of demon.
20. 11 29-32, Mt. 12 39-42. Demand for a sign.
21. 11 33, Mt. 5 15. Unhidden light.
22. 11 34-35, Mt. 6 22-23. Light and eye.
23. 11 42-43, Mt. 23 23, 6. Woes.
24. 12 2-9, Mt. 10 26-33. Assurance of protection.
25. 12 10, Mt. 12 32. Blasphemy.

26. 12 22-32, Mt. 6 25-34. Carelessness for earthly things.
27. 12 39-46, Mt. 24 43-51. Watchfulness.
28. 12 58-59, Mt. 5 25-26. Agreement with adversary.
29. 13 18-21, Mt. 13 31-33. Mustard-seed and leaven.
30. 12 28-29, Mt. 8 11-12. Rejection from Kingdom.
31. 12 34-35, Mt. 23 37-39. Woes on Jerusalem.
32. 16 13, Mt. 6 24. Two masters.
33. 16 16, Mt. 11 12-13. Law and Baptist.
34. 16 17, Mt. 5 18. Permanence of Law.
35. 16 18, Mt. 5 32. Divorce.
36. 17 1-2, Mt. 18 6-7. Offences.
37. 17 23-27, Mt. 24 26-27. 37-39. Parousia.
38. 17 34-35, Mt. 24 40-41. Suddenness of Parousia.
39. 17 37, Mt. 24 28. Place of Parousia.
40. 22 28-30, Mt. 19 28. Reward of Twelve.

(E)

Passages in Lc., paralleled in thought in Mt. but with a wording more divergent than mutual editing of a common source will readily explain: —

1. 6 20-23, Mt. 5 1-12. Beatitudes.
2. 6 27-36, Mt. 5 38-48. Love of neighbor.
3. 6 37-38, Mt. 7 1-2. Judging.
4. 6 47-7 1, Mt. 7 24 8 1. Epilogue to Sermon.
5. 7 2-6 a, Mt. 8 5-7. The centurion's request.
6. 7 18-21, Mt. 11 2-3. The Baptist's envoys.
7. 11 37-52 (in part), Mt. 23 (in part). Woes.
8. 12 33-34, Mt. 6 19-21. Treasure and heart.
9. 12 49-53, Mt. 10 34-36. Division.
10. 14 15-24, Mt. 22 1-14. Great Supper.
11. 14 25-27, Mt. 10 37-39. Demands of discipleship.
12. 15 4-10, Mt. 18 11-14. Lost sheep and coin.
13. 17 3-4, Mt. 18 15. 21. Forgiveness.
14. 17 5-6, Mt. 17 20. Faith.
15. 19 11-27, Mt. 25 14-30. The minas (talents).

The above lists aim only at presenting the general statement of the situation and do not profess to be complete. There are many verses and parts of verses that should be

included in each of them that have been omitted. In many cases there is room for distinct difference of opinion as to which list should include a given passage, but a detailed consideration of the arguments lies entirely outside of the purpose of this article.

(*F*)

Passages that are peculiar to Lc. but where reasons of vocabulary, style, or other considerations (especially adaptation to the context or obviousness of motive that led Mt. to omit) make it probable that the passage belonged to Q:—

1. 10 17-20. Return of the disciples.
2. 11 5-8. Importunate friend.
3. 11 21-22. Strong man.
4. 11 36. Light.
5. 12 11-12. Defense at trial.
6. 12 13-21. Rich fool.
7. 12 47-48. Stripes for disobedience.
8. 13 31-33. Herod's threat.
9. 16 1-12. Knavish steward.
10. 18 1-8. Unjust Judge.
11. 22 24-30. Controversy as to rank.
12. 22 35-38. Approaching stress.

In a critical study of Lc.'s special matter, the passages above in (*A*), (*B*), (*D*) do not enter into consideration. For reasons that must be justified in some other place the passages in (*F*) are omitted here, besides. From the passages in (*D*) it is easy to remove what has clearly come from Mc., and similar palpable Marcan touches can be cut out in other parts of Lc. From the passages in (*E*) and elsewhere in the Gospel Q-matter can be removed in a similar way. This process may be supposed completed.

Then, it is the present contention that substantially all the remaining matter was taken by Lc. from a single written source.

Reliance is placed on the following arguments: This matter is a complete summary of Evangelic tradition, with-

out doublets (pp. 95-100 below). It was written by a Jewish Christian for Jewish Christians, disregarding Gentile Christianity altogether, and so in sharp contrast to Lc.'s own point of view (pp. 87-90). It was written under primitive Palestinian conditions (pp. 100-103) and shows certain real affinities with the Johannine Gospel, *infra*. At many points within the Third Gospel the redactorial process can be seen by which Lc. united this source with Mc. or Q (pp. 90-94). To this evidence is to be added that collected in the preceding article by the present writer, where argument was offered that the vocabulary and style of this source can be distinguished clearly from the vocabulary and style of Lc. [pp. 145-167]. The linguistic data are distributed fairly evenly throughout the source [pp. 168-170], contain proportionally twice as many "purely ecclesiastical" words as does Lc.'s own vocabulary [pp. 170-174], and are marked by strong Semitisms of various sorts [pp. 175-178]. And, moreover, the use of this source by Lc. explains remarkably well certain differences that have been noted between the Third Gospel and Acts [pp. 178-180].

A list of the material in question will be found on pp. 95 f., below. Naturally, no attempt is made to assert a dogmatic conclusion as to its precise limits. And, of course, a discussion of the more minute points involved would be possible only in a full critical commentary on the whole Gospel. But it may be submitted that, substantially, a very plausible case has been made out.

L AND THE JOHANNINE TRADITION

A. *Probable Cases*

1. Lc. 4 29-30; cf. J. 8 59. An attempt by the people to do violence to Christ, from which He escapes by obscure means. In Lc. the attack is not sufficiently motivated.

2. Lc. 5 1-11; cf. J. 21. A miraculous draught of fishes by St. Peter and other disciples. The impression is certainly conveyed that Lc. has somehow confused a post-resurrection appearance of Christ with the call of St. Peter. Note the latter's contrition.

3. Lc. 6 16; cf. J. 14 22. A second Judas in the Apostolic College.

4. Lc. 7 36-38; cf. J. 11 2 12 1-8. The similarities in the anointings are well known. Cf. especially: *τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς θριξίν τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἐξέμασεν* in Lc. 7 38 with *καὶ ἐξέμαξεν ταῖς θριξίν αὐτῆς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ* in Jn. 12 3. The resemblance is much too close to be accidental.

5. Lc. 10 38 b-42; cf. J. 11 1. The two sisters, Mary and Martha.

6. Lc. 22 3; cf. J. 13 27. *εἰσῆλθεν δὲ σατανᾶς εἰς Ἰούδαν, — τότε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ὁ σατανᾶς.*

7. Lc. 22 34; cf. J. 13 38. St. Peter's denial predicted at the Last Supper, *not* on the way to the Mount of Olives as in Mc. and Mt.

8. Lc. 22 50; cf. J. 18 10. St. Peter cuts off the *right* ear of the servant (or wounds it).

9. Lc. 23 16. 22; cf. J. 19 1-4. Scourging offered as a substitute for crucifixion.

10. Lc. 23 49; cf. J. 19 25. Christ's friends present at crucifixion.

11. Lc. 23 53; cf. J. 19 41. No body had ever been placed in Joseph's tomb. (Mt. 27 60 does not necessarily imply this.)

12. Lc. 24 4; cf. J. 20 12. *Two* angels at the tomb.

13. Lc. 24 24; cf. J. 20 3-10. The report of the woman (Mary) causes disciples to visit the empty tomb.

14. Lc. 24 36; cf. J. 20 19. Appearance to Apostles on Easter evening.

15. The term *Κύριος* for Christ in the Evangelist's narrative.

B. Evidence probably Corroborative

16. Lc. 4 21; cf. Jn., *passim*. Christ proclaims His Messianic office publicly.

17. Lc. 6 47 14 26, *ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς με*, metaphorical, of Christ. Common in J., not in Mc. and Mt. [Cf. p. 161.]

18. Lc. 13 14. 16 14 5; cf. J. 19 31. *ἡμέρα τοῦ σαββάτου*. Not elsewhere in the New Testament. [Cf. p. 155.]

19. Lc. 6 38 16 22. 23; cf. J. 1 18 13 23. *κόλπος*. Elsewhere only A 27 39, with different meaning. [Cf. p. 162.]

20. Lc. 6 20 16 23 18 13; cf. J. 4 35 6 5 17 1. *ἐπαίρειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς*. Elsewhere only Mt. 17 8. [Cf. p. 154.]

21. Lc. 16 31; cf. J. 11 47. The resurrection of a dead man (named Lazarus) not sufficient to convert the leaders of the Jews.

22. Lc. 14 27; cf. J. 19 17. *βαστάζειν τὸν σταυρόν*. Not elsewhere.

23. Lc. 14 26; cf. J. 12 25. *Μισεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν*. Not elsewhere.

24. In L there was no temple-cleansing at the last visit to Jerusalem,—the account in Lc. 19 45-46 is a summary reproduction of Mc. 11 15-17.

25. According to Lc. Christ is taken from Gethsemane to the house of the high-priest (22 54) and thence to the council (22 66). According to Jn., first to Annas (18 13) and then to Caiaphas (18 24), before whom, evidently the trial (passed over by Jn.) was held. According to Mc. (14 53), Christ was taken immediately to the council from Gethsemane.

26. Lc. 23 4; cf. J. 18 38. The first charge brought against Christ before Pilate breaks down.

27. Lc. 23 2; cf. Jn. 18 36. This first charge is a claim to kingship, which Pilate understands in a harmless sense.

28. As in Jn., there are probably no exorcisms in L. The sole reference (in 13 11) is almost certainly a misunderstanding on Lc.'s part of the "binding by Satan" in 13 16, for the narrative evidently is not a description of an exorcism.

C. Other Instances cited by Weiss

29. Lc. 7 3. 6; cf. Jn. 4 51. 57. At a healing at a distance, there are *two* sets of messengers. (Weiss, p. 108.) (This seems fanciful.)

30. *ἐρωτᾶν* as "make request." (118.) [Cf. p. 161.]

31. The parable of the Good Samaritan shows that Christ had received kindly treatment from the Samaritans. (122.) (This seems wholly gratuitous.)

32. Lc. 15 24. 32. ζῆν as "become alive." Jn. 5 25 11 25. (125.) Not much stress, if any, can be laid on this, especially as in Lc. 15 24 ἀνέζησεν is the better attested reading. The aorist form that Weiss quotes is not found in the Fourth Gospel at all but only in Rev. (2 8 13 14 20 4. 5) in the Johannine writings. Cf. also Rom. 14 9, the only other use of this aorist in the NT.

33. Lc. 22 56. 58. The two questions: καὶ οὗτος σὺν αὐτῷ ἦν, — καὶ σὺ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶ, require that the second be translated "Thou also art among them that were with him," and so supposes that another disciple besides Peter was in the court. (155.) (This is much too refined.)

34. Nos. 26–27, above, presuppose a preliminary hearing of Christ by Pilate. (158.)

35. The people take no part in the process. (158.) (This depends on literary pruning, but is almost certainly right and is discussed in the next part.)

36. Lc. 23 26; cf. Jn. 19 16. The hierarchs, not the soldiers, lead Christ to crucifixion. (160.) (Much too refined and almost incredible.)

37. In L Christ bore His cross, not the Cyrenian. (161.) Cf. Jn. 19 17. (This is possible, as Lc. 23 26 is from Mc. 15 21, but Weiss admits its uncertainty.)

38. Lc. 23 46; cf. Jn. 19 30. Christ's last words are peaceful (163).

39. The Ascension covered by the Resurrection. (166.) (This is too refined, not only for L but also for Jn.).

SUMMARY. — While these instances are of very different degrees of weight, yet taken *en bloc* they yield more evidence than can well be accidental. A detailed appraisalment of the exact significance of each case, however, belongs to the Johannine Problem and not to the Synoptic. For present purposes it is enough to say that real affinities between L and Jn. exist.

Such affinities could not have arisen from a use by Jn. of Lc. or of L, apart from other tradition. The divergencies in the account of the draught of fishes alone are so great as

to set this possibility definitely on one side. A reverse dependence of Lc. or L on Jn. is of course not to be thought of. It is enough to say with Weiss that relations of some kind exist between the tradition of L and the tradition of Jn. As far as Lc. is concerned, the relations are all in L, and this is the important point for present purposes.

JEWISH CHARACTER OF THE MATERIAL

1. Most noteworthy is the absence of any direct mention of the Gentile Mission, for the words in 24 47 are an insertion of Lc.'s (cf. Weiss, p. 167). The only direct reference to benefits conferred on the Gentiles is in 2 32, where the Gentiles receive *φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν*, while Israel receives *δόξα*. In other words, the position of the Gentiles in the Kingdom is to be subordinate (and probably their conversion to Judaism is presupposed). At all events, the words do no advance in the least on a fairly common Jewish apocalyptic thought, as found, *e.g.*, in Enoch 90 33. 37.

Of indirect references, 14 22-23 probably does refer to the call of the Gentiles (so Weiss), but (a) the reference is uncertain; (b) their admission is described as a last resort; (c) we quite possibly have to do with an allegorizing addition by Lc.

Naturally, the references in 4 26-27 have nothing more to do with the call of the Gentiles (whatever Lc. may have thought) than the parable of the Good Samaritan has to do with a call of the Samaritans.

2. Indeed, there is an attitude of hostility to the Gentiles in L. On p. 155, vol. xxix, attention was called to the use of *ἔχθροι* as meaning Gentiles in 1 71. 74 19 43. The idea of release from Gentile oppression permeates the first two chapters of Lc. and finds acute expression in the Magnificat. The meaning in 2 25. 38 of the terms *παράκλησις τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ*, — *λύτρωσις Ἱερουσαλήμ* is obvious. And cf. 24 21.

Especially significant here is the eschatological discourse in c. 21. Nothing is said here of conversions of the Gentiles being effected. Here Mc. (13 9) has *εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς*, while Lc. (21 13.-L) reads *ἀποβήσεται ὑμῖν εἰς μαρτύριον*.

No hint is given that the persecutors are to receive benefit, or that the spread of the Gospel is to be accomplished in the persecutions. According to 21 24 ff., Jerusalem is trodden down of the Gentiles, ἀχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν. Then follow natural portents, men's hearts fail, "but ye are to lift up your heads." In other words, the "times of the Gentiles" are not regarded as times in which they receive benefit, but a season in which they will do violence to holy things,—a time to be terminated by judgment on them, while Israel receives salvation. Nothing is commoner than just this idea in the apocalypses,—indeed, such an idea has given most of the apocalypses their reason for existence.

It is probably worth adding that in 7 2 ff., the centurion, as a Gentile, does not dare to come personally to Christ, but sends Jewish dignitaries, who plead in his favor the services that he has rendered to the Jewish nation. (That this can be a Lucan revision of Q is almost incredible.)

3. The very "nationalistic" Messianic theology in cc. 1-2 hardly needs summary. In 1 16-17, the work of the Baptist (which is predicted as being *successful* in v. 16), is to prepare Israel. According to 1 32 the Messiah is to sit on the throne of David and rule over the house of Jacob. The covenant to Abraham is the theme in 1 55. 73. The Child is to try Israel and find who are true in it (2. 34). And so on. Precisely this point of view is found at the end of the Gospel (24 21). The two disciples have their error corrected as to the sufferings of the Messiah, but no hint is given that they were wrong in supposing that His mission was not λυτροῦσθαι τὸν Ἰσραήλ. The woman with an infirmity has the right to attention because she is a daughter of Abraham (13 16), and Zacchæus (19 9) can claim salvation, because he also is a son of Abraham, even though his sonship has been in abeyance. (Naturally, it is quite gratuitous to conceive that Zacchæus was a Gentile.) Worth noting, also, is the language in 22 18, where the drinking of the wine is deferred ἕως οὗ ἡ βασ. τ. θ. ἔλθῃ. Mc. and Mt. have here ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καινὸν ἐν τ. β. τ. θ. The form in Lc. seems to point much more definitely to a "chiliastic" King-

dom on this earth. Cf. the allegory in 19 12-13. And it is worth noting once more that the highest state of blessedness is Abraham's bosom (16 22), a very distinct advance on 13 28 (Q).

4. Christ's approval of the Law is taken so thoroughly for granted that it is not even discussed. Moses and the prophets are enough to enable any man to escape reprobation, and if they do not suffice, nothing will (16 31, — there is a strong suspicion here of an L addition to genuine words of Christ). No Gentile Christian would have written 1 6, especially with the addition of the quite unequivocal *ἀμεμπτοι* at the end.

5. Of smaller details, the value placed on almsgiving is familiar. In 11 41 is the strongest statement, which of course does not imply, *e.g.*, that pork may be eaten if alms are given. (Weiss, however, pp. 181-182, is perfectly right in saying that the fondness for asceticism so often attributed to L — or Lc. — simply does not exist.)

In 6 34 it is taken quite for granted that even sinners in lending to sinners will not exact interest. This would be an impossible illustration in Gentile conditions.

13 1-5 supposes a considerable familiarity with the minor happenings in Jerusalem, — note the article in v. 1 and the demonstrative in v. 4.

In 12 38 we find the night divided into the Jewish *three* watches — contrast Mc. 13 35.

In Lc. 20 36 (not in Mc.-Mt.) the cessation of death is given as the reason of the cessation of marriage, — *i.e.*, marriage serves only to replenish the world; if there are no deaths, marriage is no longer needed. (Weiss has some interesting additional notes on p. 185, but the exegesis is rather fine, although very plausible.)

In Lc. 19 12 the departure of the prince to receive a kingdom could not have been formed under Gentile influence.

In Lc. 22 16 the typology of the Passover is taken for granted.

In Lc. 23 56 the Sabbath rest of the women is emphasized (or is the purpose only to explain why they did not visit the Tomb on Saturday?).

6. Finally, the Jewish character of the vocabulary and style was considered fully in the preceding article. On actual quotations from the Old Testament and references to it not much stress can be laid as indicating necessarily a Jewish Christian source.

REDACTORIAL EVIDENCE

It is in no way the plan of the following discussion to be exhaustive. The sole purpose is to point out additional and corroborative evidence that in the matter included in L we are dealing not with Lc.'s free composition, based on facts orally transmitted, but with definite redaction of a written source.

In the first place, telling strongly against the theory of much use of oral tradition, is the fact that, with the exception of 2 32, 24 47, there is absolutely nothing definite in the Third Gospel on the subject of Gentile conversion, although Lc. was intended for Gentile readers. Matter of that sort in oral tradition existed (or grew) beyond the possibility of question; it is enough to note the ascending scale in Mt. 10 18, Mc. 13 10, Mt. 24 14. Its omission by Lc., if he were not strictly following documents, seems practically inexplicable.

In the second place, there is the geographical confusion in the Third Gospel after 9 50. It is customary to speak of 9 51-18 14 (or about this much of Lc.) as the "Peræan Ministry." And yet, as far as Lc. is concerned, there is not the least hint that this part of the ministry was in Peræa, except for the fact that Christ is finally found at Jericho (18 35), and this is taken from Mc. (10 46). Indeed, the only geographical hints given are most puzzling. In 9 52 Christ is entering Samaria from Galilee. Then, after nearly eight chapters of journeyings toward Jerusalem, we suddenly find in 17 11 that He has not moved at all. If Lc. were following faithfully a rather extended written source in which the material was arranged without reference to geographical order, this confusion would be explained. Still simpler is the explanation that Lc. computed the place in 17 11 out of the contents of

the narrative (Jews and a Samaritan were together). But it seems scarcely probable that the author of Acts, with his really able handling of broad geographical features there, should write in so confused a manner if he were not hampered by his sources.

The above considerations are quite general. In particular examples, some very interesting data can be gathered by a study of the passages where fragments of Mc. appear isolated in a non-Marcian context.

A remarkably clear case is seen in cp. 21 20-23. When Jerusalem "is being compassed about" with armies (present participle), those in *Judea* are to flee to the mountains, and those in the midst of *her* are to depart out. The second clause here is verbally from Mc., the first and third are non-Marcian. The result is impossible,—what had those armies been doing to Judea and her inhabitants long before they reached Jerusalem? If the Marcian clause be dropped, then "her" refers to Jerusalem and the passage is perfectly clear, "when the investment is beginning, leave the city while there is yet time." Evidently confusion has been caused by the introduction of a Mc.-clause into a narrative that was already complete. This is redaction, not composition.

Again, v. 23 refers not to v. 27 but to vv. 25-26 a, and v. 26 b is a duplication of v. 25 a. As the narrative stands, the duplication and the awkwardness are obvious,—but the obviousness is explained when it is observed that vv. 26 b-27 are simply taken from Mc. (13 25 b-26) and inserted here. If they are omitted from the account as it stands in Lc., the passage again becomes smooth and natural. V. 23 a, once more, is taken exactly from Mc. (13 17) and has a result of making "those who give suck" be those who "fall by the edge of the sword," etc. Evidently there has been a conscientious working of two sources together here, of which one is Mc. and the other—as is seen if vv. 20-23 be read with the Marcian matter omitted—a complete account in itself.

Moreover, it is to be noted that the situation for the eschatological discourse, as it stands in Lc., is again impossible; for,

according to 21 5. 37, it was delivered *in* the temple. Free composition or editing on Lc.'s part will not explain this departure from Mc.'s account, for the result has been to make what in Mc. is a natural situation (on the Mount of Olives) into one that is very difficult (in the Temple). What happened seems to have been this: In L there was an account of Christ's last day in Jerusalem without any elaborate eschatological discourse, but with some remark about the impending destruction of the Temple, uttered *inside* of it, and based on an observation regarding the beauty of the ἀναθήματα. (These would not have been visible from Olivet.) The Marcan parallel then led Lc. to insert his eschatological discourse here, drawn in part from Mc. and in part from L in other places. At all events we have not Lc.'s free composition.

Similarly, it will be found often to be the case that, wherever a reminiscence of Mc. is found in an L section, there will be an awkwardness that indicates that the reminiscence has been incorporated into a completed narrative. A few of the more interesting examples may be given:—

4 24 (Marcan) is intensely awkward with 4 25-27. And 4 23 before 4 31 makes a sort of anachronism that we may well suppose that Lc. would have avoided had 4 23 been his free composition.

5 10 a (Marcan, Mc. 1 19) brings James and John awkwardly into a narrative in which they play no part.

7 49 (cf. Mc. 2 7) imports a foreign idea into the narrative. It is to be noted, moreover, that Lc.'s conclusion as a whole seems rather to miss the point; cf. Holtzmann, *ad loc.*

Why 23 4 follows from 23 3 is anything but clear; but 23 3 is Marcan (Mc. 15 2). Probably something like "Pilate examined him" stood in its place in L, but the narrative is clearer even if the verse be cancelled entirely and nothing substituted. 23 18 is quite impossible after 23 16. In 23 16 Pilate dismisses the charge; in 23 18 the "release" is taken to mean an act of grace to the Jews. (The introduction of the spurious v. 17 into the text here seems to have been motivated by a sense of the awkwardness.) V. 18 is of course based on

Mc. — indeed, L does not seem to have mentioned Barabbas. 23 38 is from Mc. (15 26) and in an awkward place. 23 49 b and 23 53 a are doublets. The former is from Mc. (15 41). The admixture of Marcan elements in 23 50-53 has resulted in probably the most awkward sentence in the New Testament. If the Marcan elements be cancelled (with Lc.'s "a city of Judea"), the sentence becomes simple.

Of a little different type are cases where the Marcan narrative has been simplified in such a way that redactorial processes are excluded and where the influence of oral tradition would have been in the opposite direction. One instance will suffice, the great simplification in the prediction of the Passion in 9 44 from the Marcan parallel in Mc. 9 31.

Mixtures of Q and L are more difficult to demonstrate but there are some clear instances. Very striking is the case 11 38-41. The Pharisee speaks of the outside of the *man* (washing hands), Christ's rejoinder begins with the outside of a *cup*, which is contrasted with the inside of a *man*, and then the Pharisee is told to give alms from the inside of the *cup*. To make the confusion still worse, v. 40, as it stands after v. 39, makes God the maker of the outside of the *cup*, —while the cup is precisely what man made and not God. The result is hopeless. If it be noted, though, that several words in v. 39 and the words "the inside" in v. 41 are practically identical with words in Mt. 23 25-26, and if these words be deleted, the whole becomes perfectly clear. In L Christ treated of the contrast between clean hands and a clean heart, in Q of the contrast between a clean vessel and its contents. Lc. has laboriously worked the two accounts together.

In immediate connection with this passage stands 12 1, which creates an extraordinary situation. In the presence of a tremendous and enthusiastic multitude Christ *first* begins to teach His disciples. The situation is clear, —into a narrative from L Lc. has inserted a discourse to the disciples from Q. He inserted it here because it dealt with the leaven of the Pharisees, and the Pharisees were the last topic.

In 19 11-27, if the agreements with Mt. be marked, they will be found to be thick in vv. 20-26 and scanty elsewhere. Moreover, in the matter there are two distinct ideas, — the servants and the rebellious subjects, — and the number of the servants varies from ten to three. Two distinct parables have been worked together, the servants from Q and the rebellious subjects from L.

"Sutures," where two sources have been united baldly, are visible in other places. *E.g.*, 22 24. The *καί* that effects the transition to an altogether different subject, related to the former only in that it also contained a "dispute," is very mechanical.

As matters stand, 9 51 is altogether too far back in the Gospel. Whatever be the explanation of this, free composition on Lc.'s part seems excluded.

The above examples, even taken by themselves, show something that is of the greatest importance. When Lc. used sources, it can be demonstrated that there are places where he uses them with a fidelity so great as to become mechanical. Indeed, he did not shrink from extreme awkwardness or even obscurity when it was a question of reproducing exactly what his source or sources said. Consequently an *a priori* probability is established that, when we find a departure from a known source (as in 20 33-40 as compared with Mc. 12 24-27), then this departure is not to be referred to Lc.'s editorial freedom.

Indeed, all that has been said about Lc.'s "editorial freedom" (Wernle, *Die Synoptische Frage*, p. 107, is a good case in point) rests on assuming that when there is much departure in his narrative from Mc., then this departure is due to Lc.'s freedom. Quite apart from all the other evidence, it is difficult to believe that a writer who permitted himself much freedom would cling so closely to Mc. in such long stretches as Lc. has done, with variations of only the most trivial kinds. And where much variation has occurred, the explanation is far more probably to be sought in the use of other sources.

CONTENTS AND ORDER OF THE SOURCE

The sections will be given in the order in which they stand in Lc.:

1. The two introductory chapters.
2. The instructions of the Baptist. 3 10-14.
3. The Genealogy. 3 23-38.
4. The rejection at Nazareth. 4 16-30.
5. The call of Simon. 5 1-11.
6. The question of fasting. 5 30. 33. 36. 39, Mc. 2 18-22, Mt. 9 14-17. (x)
7. The list of the Twelve. 6 12 a. 14-16, Mc. 3 16-19 Mt. 10 2-4.
8. Beatitudes and Woes. 6 20-26, Mt. 5 3-12.
9. Love of enemies. 6 27-38, Mt. 5 38-48 7 1-2. 12.
10. House on rock. 6 46-49, Mt. 7 21. 24-27.
11. Centurion's message. 7 2-6 a. 10, Mt. 8 5-7. 13.
12. Widow's son at Nain. 7 11-17.
13. The Baptist's message. 7 18-22 a, Mt. 11 2-4.
14. The penitent woman. 7 36-50.
15. The ministering women. 8 1-3.
16. Prediction of Passion. 9 43-45, Mc. 9 30-32, Mt. 17 22-23.
17. Rejection in Samaria. 9 51-56.
18. Mission of seventy (two). 10 1.
19. Good Samaritan. 10 29 b-37.
20. Mary and Martha. 10 38-42.
21. Praise of the woman. 11 27-28.
22. Woes on Pharisees. 11 37-50 (in part), Mt. 23 (in part).
23. Breach with Pharisees. 11 53-54, Mc. 3 6, Mt. 12 14.
24. Treasure and heart. 12 33-34, Mt. 6 19-21.
25. Watchful servants. 12 35-38.
26. Unfaithful servant. 12 47-48 a.
27. Christ as causing division. 12 49-53, Mt. 10 34-36.
28. Warnings to people. 13 1-5.
29. Barren figtree. 13 6-9.
30. Woman with infirmity. 13 10-17.
31. Man with dropsy. 14 1-6.
32. Choice of places. 14 7-11.

33. Guests at supper. 14 12-14.
34. Great supper. 14 16-24, Mt. 22 1-10.
35. Cost of discipleship. 14 25-26, Mt. 10 37.
36. Bearing cross. 14 27, cf. 9 23, etc.
37. Counting cost. 14 28-33.
38. Reception of publicans. 15 1-3, Mc. 2 16, etc.
39. Prodigal son. 15 12-32.
40. Mammon of unrighteousness. 16 9.
41. Dives and Lazarus. 16 15. 19-31.
42. Occasions of stumbling. 17 1-4, Mt. 18 7. 6. 15. 21.
43. Power of faith. 17 5-6, Mt. 17 20, Mc. 11 22-23, Mt. 21 21.
44. Unprofitable servant. 17 7-10.
45. The ten lepers. 17 11-19.
46. Pharisee and publican. 18 9-14.
47. Prediction of Passion. 18 31-34 (in part), Mc. 10 32-34, Mt. 20 17-19. (x)
48. Zacchæus. 19 1-10.
49. The journeying nobleman. 19 11-27 (in part).
50. The entry into Jerusalem. 19 29 a. 37 b-44, Mc. 11 9-10.
51. Indignation of the priests. 19 47-48, Mc. 11 18. (x)
52. The tribute money. 20 20-26, Mc. 12 13-17, Mt. 22 15-22. (x)
53. Declaration on immortality. 20 34-38, Mc. 12 24-27, Mt. 22 29-32.
54. Eschatological matter. Cp. 21 (in part).
55. Passion and Resurrection matter. Cpp. 22-24 (apart from Mc. and Q).

In the above list parts of verses have not always been included. They present often a complicated problem of little practical bearing. And for present purposes it has not been thought worth while to subdivide the last two sections. The four sections marked with (x)—Nos. 6, 47, 51, 52—contain so much Marcan matter that only the vocabulary is of much help in distinguishing the admixture of the other source. No. 53 seems also to have some Marcan admixture, but the form of L is quite clearly discernible and a Lucan redaction of Mc. is hardly to be thought of (cf. p. 89).

To the above list probably should be added an account of

the Transfiguration, as has been said on [pp. 169-170]. Also it is possible that 15 3-10 should be added. Weiss, p. 61, has referred this to Q, but despite the coincidences with Mt. 18 12-14 the variations are too great to be well explained by redactorial differences. Loisy (*Les Évangiles Synoptiques*, 2, pp. 138 ff.) considers a non-Q tradition the most likely explanation.

The matter contained in the above list may be classified as follows :—

Taking the relations with the Jewish leaders first, Christ offends the Pharisees chiefly by His free intercourse with the common people, notably the publicans (38, 48). Against the attitude of pride so taken by His critics we have the parables 39, 46, 32. There are two Sabbath disputes (30, 31), neither of which leads to such a crisis as is indicated in Mc. 3 6 (a sign of the Jewish character of L ?), and there is one complaint of neglect of fasting (6) and one of eating with unwashed hands (22). Standing perhaps a little apart is the question of the penitent woman, in which Christ pronounces the forgiveness of sins (14). Now, it is curious that the Marcan accounts of the breach of Christ with the religious leaders assign precisely the same reasons. We find free intercourse in Mc. 2 16, Sabbath disputes (again *two* in number, — if this is anything more than an accident) in 2 23-3 5, neglect of fasting in 2 18, eating with unwashed hands in 7 2, and a pronouncement of the forgiveness of sins in 2 5. And, outside of the Jerusalem events, Mc. contains no other grounds for controversy. This exact coincidence can hardly be accidental. The easiest explanation is that no tradition would be better preserved in the Palestinian Church than that of the points in which Christ dissented from the official religious leaders, so that any document would try to give a full list of typical controversies. A mechanical duplication of the Marcan list by Lc., who, moreover, has retained most of Mc.'s sections, is out of the question. Lc. (22) differs from Mc., however, in making the irremediable breach come from a direct attack on the Pharisees by Christ.

As a matter not so much of direct controversy as of peaceful discussion we have the parable of the Good Samaritan, clearly connected somehow with the question as to the Great Commandment, although the preceding context in Lc. may be from Q. Cf. Mc. 12 28-34 for a similar peaceful discussion on the same topic.

Warnings not to the religious leaders but to the people themselves are found in 28, 29, 34. This feature lies more in the background in Mc., but is expressed with perfect clearness in Mc. 4 12-13 9 19. Curiously enough in both Mc. and L the despair as to the people is given utterance in the face of tremendous popular enthusiasm for Christ. This L carries further than does Mc., for his crowds at the crucifixion simply "stand beholding" (23 35), and only the rulers mock, while in Mc. (15 29), the crowds join in the mockery. Warnings against half-hearted discipleship are found in 27, 35, 36, 37; cf. Mc. 8 34-38. Possibly the faith of the centurion and of the Samaritan leper (11, 45) are to be contrasted here with the wavering faith of the Baptist (13), with a side-glance at Israel's failure to seize its opportunity.

Of more intimate instruction to the disciples, 42-44 may be compared with Mc. 9 33-50 11 22-23. Adjurations to humility and avoidance of "scandals," with a warning against weakness of faith, were a feature in both sources, naturally. L has predictions of the Passion in 16, 47; Mc. has the predictions three times. 17 is a warning against wrath at enemies; Mc. 9 39-40 is an imperfect parallel. The eschatological matter (25, 26, 49) needs no direct discussion, and neither do the parallels to Mt.'s Sermon on the Mount (8, 9, 10, 24).

Apart, then, from the Marcan tradition there stand only two passages, Nos. 33 and 40-41. The first of these does not need discussion. The parable of Dives and Lazarus, however, as it stands in the Gospel does introduce a new feature. The breach with the Pharisees is attributed to a new motive; Christ's attacks on the misuse of money are given as one of the reasons why the Pharisees derided Him. Now in the first place, what is said about the possession of riches actually

falls short of the intensity of Mc. 10 25. In the second place, the connection of what is said of the ridicule of the Pharisees is due to Lc. and, if it be thought necessary, may be attributed to a misunderstanding on his part. But, according to Mc. 10 24, Christ's teaching as to the danger of riches astonished even the disciples, and so ridicule from the Pharisees may be taken as not only probable but quite certain.

L contains the following miracles: Two synagogue healings, one of dropsy (31), one of a woman with an "infirmity" (30); one cleansing of leprosy (45); one healing at a distance (11); one raising of the dead (12). The healing of the ear in 22 51 stands rather by itself. Apart from miracles of healing we have only the draught of fishes in 5, with a possibility that Christ's escape in 4 may have been attributed to miraculous means. With the exception of exorcisms, which *may* be found in No. 30 (but cf. p. 85), and which, in any event, are absent from the Fourth Gospel, this list is about what we should expect to find in any compilation of Evangelic tradition. The one advance on the other Synoptic tradition is No. 45, with its large number of lepers.

SUMMARIZING. — The contents of this source, as tentatively established, shows a remarkable correspondence with the general contents of Mc. The various sides of Christ's teaching and activity are all touched on and illustrated in proportions that are excellent. Duplication of matter is absent, and there seem to be no omissions of any consequence. If an account of the Transfiguration be added, the source represents just about the material that one would expect to find. Overloading seems to exist only in the rather disproportionate amount of space given to the Infancy matter, but this needs no explanation. It has been Lc.'s painstaking working of Mc. and L together that has led to the rather awkward duplication of the material in the finished Gospel, as, *e.g.*, in the matter of the Sabbath disputes, that has so often been noted.

Of course we have no assurance that Lc. has given us the

entire contents of L. Probability is overwhelmingly against his having done so. But if his use of Mc. is a fair criterion, his omissions have not been of very much consequence. The material unity of the recovered matter tells also against any very great omissions.

As to the order of the sections, not very much can be said. No. 23, apparently, stands much too early. Possibly the same is true of the eschatological matter 25-26, but it must be remembered that our impressions of the late place of the eschatological matter in Christ's teaching depend largely on Mc. 13, where a mechanical combination is certain. In certain cases, such as No. 4, Lc.'s editorial ideas must be charged with dislocation, the place of No. 7 is doubtless due to Mc.'s order, and so on. But reconstruction in this regard is of all things most hypothetical, and the order, even as it stands, is not really impossible. So it does not seem worth while to criticise the elaborate rearrangement of Weiss: 1; 2, 3, 4, 11, 5, 7, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16; 17, 20, 18, 19, 31, 32, 33, 38, 39, 41, 46, 21, 22, 23, 27, 54 (in part), 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 36, 37, 42, 43, 44, 25, 26, 45, 24, 40, 53, 54 (in part); 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55.

THE PRAGMATISM OF L

On p. 363 of *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, Schweitzer writes: "Hat es doch schon Reimarus ausgesprochen, dass die Eschatologie der Urgemeinde mit der jüdischen identisch war, und nur in einer für das Wesen und den Verlauf der erwarteten Ereignisse belanglosen Erkenntniss über sie hinausging, insofern als sie wusste, wer der Menschensohn sein würde." This statement as it stands may have, perhaps, to be taken rather cautiously, but at all events it does accurately describe the Messianic idea in L. According to L, Christ was the predicted Messiah of the Old Testament, Who during His lifetime had performed work that was preliminary only. After His resurrection He had gone to the Father "to receive a kingdom" and was to return again in glory, as the Son of Man, to establish that kingdom. Into it were to be admitted the faithful remnant of Israel. This

programme, apart from the preliminary work on earth, is simply that, *e.g.*, of the Similitudes of Enoch. In detail:—

The bulk of cpp. 1–2 is so devoted to this point of view that a list of the passages is needless. Christ's ministry begins with "To-day hath this scripture been fulfilled in your ears" (4 21), He goes up to Jerusalem in order that "all things that are written by the prophets shall be accomplished" (18 31,—note that this touch is not in the Mc. and Mt. predictions of the Passion), and His teaching after the Resurrection is based on the argument from prophecy (24 27. 44–46).

The phrase "Kingdom of God" is found in L in 6 20 8 1 9 62 14 15 19 11 22 16. 18 23 51. Of these passages, 14 15 19 11 22 18 23 51 are quite unequivocal,—the Kingdom is regarded as being a fact of the future,—something that is to "come" (19 11 22 18), in which men shall eat (14 15 22 16) and drink (22 18). That it involves the redemption of Israel has been discussed in the last part. The Messiah Who brings this Kingdom has the title "Son of Man" (21 36 22 69 24 7). Otherwise the title is used at the betrayal by Judas (22 48,—an act with an eschatological significance), of Christ as the Determiner of human destiny (6 22), and in a non-eschatological context only in 19 10. (In 6 22 the title is probably due to the author of L or to Lc., as Mt. 5 11 in the Q parallel has "*my* sake.")

No Jewish apocalypse regards the coming of the Kingdom as bringing happiness on *all* of Israel,—in every case certain conditions must be fulfilled by even the Israelite to obtain its blessedness (cf. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, pp. 316 ff.). L, as a Christian document, naturally makes the first of those conditions to be faith in Christ. (A study of the other conditions would carry this discussion too far into the realm of New Testament theology.) Conversely, rejection of Christ involves rejection from the Kingdom. Of those who so rejected the Kingdom, the attitude towards the *Pharisees* is about that of Mc. (hardly as severe as that of Mt.). Cf. 5 30 7 36 ff. 11 37 ff. 14 3 15 2 16 14 (L?) 18 10 ff. 19 39. (But, on the other hand, note that Christ

eats at a Pharisee's table three times, — 7 36 11 37 14 1, — a touch that does not occur in Mc. and Mt. and which certainly softens the opposition.) Much sharper is the antagonism to the *Sadducees*, on whom the entire blame of the crucifixion is thrown, — 19 47 22 4. 52. 66 23 13. 35 24 20, — note especially 23 35. The *scribes*, on the other hand, have become much less prominent and are found only in 11 53 15 2 23 10, apart from the places where the word seems to have been introduced from Mc. Nor is the absence of scribes supplied by the presence of "*lawyers*" who occur only twice, — in 14 3 and the woes of 11 45 ff. The *people*, however, are all and always represented as enthusiastic for Christ, — 5 1 7 12. 16 9 43 12 1 14 25 18 43 19 11. 48 20 26 21 38 23 35. 48 24 19, — even if their enthusiasm is not always "according to knowledge." Eschatologically speaking, this state of affairs is summed up in 14 16-24, they who were invited (the religious leaders) having rejected the message, their place is filled from the common people.

(This attitude towards the various classes of the Jewish nation — hatred of the Sadducees, a lesser dislike for the Pharisees, considerably less feeling towards the professional students of the Law, and a most kindly feeling towards the populace — is exactly what would have been found in the Jewish-Christian communities of early date in Palestine but in no other Christian communities of any time or place.)

The greatest hope seems to be placed in the poor, *i.e.*, those who, literally, have little money. The redaction of the Beatitudes in L emphasizes this most strongly, a part (only!) of the Parable of Dives and Lazarus lies in the same direction, and the extreme emphasis laid on sharing one's possessions (3 11 11 41 12 33 16 9) drives the argument home. Cf. especially the calm tone of Mt. 6 19-20 with the L form in Lc. 12 33. The agreement of all of this with Palestinian conditions (as in the Epistle of St. James?) is again obvious.

SUMMARY. — When the details collected in this part and on pp. 87-90 are considered, there seems to be only one conclusion indicated, — that L was composed by a strict Jewish-Christian, and written for the benefit of other Jewish-

Christians and in order to convert Jews to Jewish Christianity. The author was looking forward to Christ's return as the Messiah-Son-of-Man, to establish the Kingdom for such as had accepted Him. Externally speaking, apart from the moral reform demanded, the faith of the author was a "Way" in Judaism (rather than a distinct religion) in which the Law is still observed, Gentile conversions disregarded (simply, — not condemned), and the conversion of Israel not despaired of. In other words, the point of view that we find in St. Peter's speeches in the first chapters of Acts.

Brief Communications

NEW GOD NAMES

OF absolutely certain discoveries in the field of Biblical literature and exegesis there can be but few. But there are many theories which are in such a high degree probable that we may call them practically certain, and such is the text-critical and exegetical theory of Cant. 2 7 3 5 that I shall here put forward. The passages, which are identical, run thus: 'I adjure you, O ye women of Jerusalem, by the roes and by the hinds of the field, that ye stir not up nor awaken love until it pleases.' This is in accordance with the high conception of love in the Song of Songs. Love is too serious a thing to be played with. But what is the meaning of the special form of adjuration? 'By the roes and by the hinds of the field' is surely absurd. The only remedy is to chronicle the corrections which we have had to make elsewhere, suggested partly by the habits of the scribes and partly by the little known and still less considered (as I at least not unnaturally judge) North Arabian theory. צבאות is not 'roes,' but comes from צבענית, 'Sib'onith,' a title of Ashtart, the goddess of love. אילות is not 'hinds,' but comes from ארלית, 'Aralith,' another title of the same goddess. If the reader will take the trouble to refer to my recent works (the latest is *The Two Religions of Israel*, 1911), he will find the evidence on which I base this view, or rather this conviction. Suffice it to mention the compound divine name יהוה צבאות, which, by the manipulation of religious officials has arisen out of יהוה צבענית, 'Yahwe-Sib'onith,' i.e. virtually, 'Yahwe-Ashtart.' And in the second place, ערל and ערלים in 1 Sam., which, like אריאל comes from ירחמאל. שדי, here as elsewhere, probably comes from שרים, Shurim = Ashurim, 'Asshurites.' That

there was a North Arabian Asshur, Professor Hommel and I have independently shown. The adjuration becomes thus, 'by Šib'onith (*gloss*, Aralith of the Shurites).' That the cult of Ashtart was specially prevalent in North Arabia, I hope that I have shown sufficiently in *The Two Religions of Israel*.

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NOTE ON MARK 16 18

In my article s.v. "Aristion (Aristo)" in Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, 1906, I made the following reference to Conybeare's well-known conjecture based on the gloss *eritsu Ariston* inserted before the Marcan appendix (Mk. 16 9-20) in red ink in small cramped letters by the writer of an Armenian tenth century codex, ascribing the authorship of the appendix to the Aristion of Papias (Euseb. *H.E.* III, xxxix. 4):—

Undeniably the reference in Mk. 16 18 to drinking of poison with impunity must have literary connection with Papias' anecdote regarding Justus Barsabbas (*H.E.*, III. xxxix. 9), whatever the source. Conybeare's citation of a gloss 'against the name Aristion' in a Bodleian 12th cent. codex of Rufinus' translation of this passage, which referred to this story of the poison cup, was even (to the discoverer's eye) a designation by the unknown glossator of Aristion as author of this story. But besides the precariousness of this inference, it would scarcely be possible to write a gloss 'against the name Aristion' which would not be equally 'against the name of Elder John' immediately adjoining; and as mediæval legend reported the story of the poison cup of *John* (*i.e.* the Apostle, identified in the glossator's period with the Elder) this would seem to be the more natural reference and meaning of the gloss.

Prof. J. Vernon Bartlett has recently done me the kindness to transcribe for me this gloss on the Rufinus codex with especial regard for its location on the page. His report is as follows:—

My notes on the Bodleian Ms. of Rufinus which I examined (Mss. 2 and Miscell. 294, once in the Monastery of Eberbach) are to this effect. The scholion is really simply one of a number of

marginal notes, indicating the contents, which occur throughout the Ms. Conybeare noticed that the 'scholion' 'Quod Justus qui et Barsabas venenum biberit nihilque ex hoc triste pertulerit' stood 'in the margin over against the name of Aristion,' and inferred that this showed consciousness that this story was 'due to or suggested by Aristion.'

But the position 'over against' Aristion is a mere accident, due to the fact that there is *no room* on the inner margin of the Ms. (which is written in 2 columns), where it should come, for the marginal note to be inserted. Hence it comes opposite the name of Aristion, which though a good deal earlier in the text, is in fact parallel (to the matter in question) in the other column. There are similar cases which I have observed elsewhere. Thus the inference was a mistake of Conybeare's and the observation is of no historical value.

For this purely negative result of the inquiry, which does not even connect the tradition of the poison cup with "John," I was prepared some years ago by an assurance from Professor Conybeare himself in conversation that there was "nothing in" the supposed evidence, and would scarcely have thought it worth while to bring this merely negative result before readers of the JOURNAL were it not that the ascription of the Marcan appendix to Aristion (groundless as I believe it to be) has been so generally accepted, and by scholars of such eminence.

In addition I have the following curious bit of evidence to submit on the question when and how the legend of the poison cup came to be detached from the name of Justus Barsabas and attached to that of the Apostle John. It may serve to justify my renewed invitation of the reader's attention to this subject.

As is well known, one of the new fragments of Papias taken by de Boor from cod. Baroscianus 142 in the Bodleian Library, and probably derived from Philippus Sidetes particularizes in regard to the story of the poison cup which Papias had (indirectly?—ὡς παραλαβὼν ἀπὸ) from the daughters of Philip, that it was drunk as an ordeal imposed by the unbelievers, and contained the poison of a viper (ἰὸν ἐχίδνης). Whether the venom of a viper taken by the

mouth is in reality a deadly poison (*φάρμακον δηλητήριο*), concerns not us but the physicians. It seems at least to have been so considered. But it does not appear by any testimony I am able to obtain that it was in such universal use as to warrant the inference in regard to poison cups in general that the poison was extracted from a serpent's fangs when no statement to that effect is made. We cannot, for example, infer that a painter of the period of the Renaissance or earlier, wishing to indicate to the eye the poisonous nature of the contents of a cup depicted on the canvas, would naturally resort to the expedient of painting a viper so disposed in the chalice that its head projects with threatening mien above the rim, while its tail hangs down over the side.

If, then, we look at the celebrated painting of John the Apostle and Evangelist by Domenichino, or, at other still older representations, in which this symbol occupies a position second only in prominence to that of the eagle derived from the pages of Irenæus,¹ we shall naturally say to ourselves: Mediæval legend gave the idea of the poison cup; for that is traceable back to the second century and rests ultimately, like the accompanying legend of John's immersion in boiling oil, on the prediction of Jesus to the sons of Zebedee, "Ye shall indeed drink of my cup, and be baptized with the baptism wherewith I am baptized" (Mk. 10 39); but whence the idea of this particular brand of poison, if not (directly or indirectly) from the pages of Papias himself?

We shall be grateful to the students of mediæval art if they will trace this apostolic viper to his literary lair. To all appearance he would seem to have escaped from the cup of Justus Barsabas.

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¹ *Hær.* III. xi. 8. The symbols, however, are probably older than Irenæus (see my note on "Andreas of Cæsarea and the Virgin Birth" in *Am. Journ. of Theol.* xv. 1. Jan. 1911) and are variously applied. In Irenæus that of the lion is connected with John and the eagle with Mark.

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The Sepulchral Monument 'Maşşebah'

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LEIDEN

IN Gen. 35 20, we are told that Jacob set up a maşşebah upon the grave of Rachel. The narrator adds that "the same is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day." In 2 Sam. 18 18 it is narrated that Absalom reared up for himself a maşşebah, for he said, "I have no son to keep my name in remembrance." Of this pillar it is said that it was called "the hand of Absalom unto this day."

From these passages it follows that it was the duty of a son to set up a maşşebah upon the grave of his father, and that such a maşşebah was also called 'hand.' This proves that such sepulchral monuments as those mentioned in Gen. 35 20 and 2 Sam. 18 18 were common. From Isa. 56 5 we see that it was customary to set up 'hands' in memory of deceased relatives. The prophet promises that the eunuchs who keep the sabbaths of Jahve will be rewarded by sepulchral monuments that will be built within the walls of the temple of Jahve. "Unto them I will give in mine house and within my walls a 'hand' and a name that is better than the possession of sons and daughters. I will give them an everlasting name, that shall not be erased."

The name of the deceased man or woman was cut into the maşşebah, and it obviously was a dreadful thing if this

name was effaced or erased. Until the present day the tombstones set up in Jewish cemeteries are called 'maşsebah.' If the Jewish grave is not adorned by erected stone tablets, as, for example, in Tunis, Sousse, and other North African places, the small stone tablet that is laid down upon the grave is still called a 'maşsebah.'

What is the meaning of the setting up of such a monument from the earliest times until the present day? R. Duval has written a learned article on this subject.¹ He explains the monument as a memorial to the life of the deceased person. But this interpretation does not explain why the monument has the form of a maşsebah, an erected pillar of stone. Furthermore, we fail to understand the high importance of these monuments for deceased persons. It certainly is a good thing to have some reason for hoping that one's memory will not be at once extinguished, but if it were only a memorial, it would not be a great mishap if a person should die without the certainty that a maşsebah would be set up in his honor; for there are many other and more successful ways of honoring the lives of deceased persons than by building monuments over their graves.

Nevertheless R. Duval has shown the way to the solution of this question by drawing attention to the fact that the sepulchral monument was also called 'nefesh,' that is, 'soul.' Tract Shekalim ii. 5 deals with the question what to do with the money that remains from the costs of a funeral. Rabbi Nathan said that this money was to be used for building a 'soul' over the grave. This name was very common, and is used in the First Book of Maccabees for the cone-shaped pillars that were placed upon the building covering a tomb. "Simon erected a building upon the grave of his father and his brothers. He made it so high that it could be seen from a long distance. On the top of it he placed seven pyramids for his father, his mother, and his four brothers."² Obviously the seventh was destined for himself. The word 'pyramids'

¹ *Revue Sémitique*, 1894, p. 259 (Note sur le monument funéraire appelé nefesh).

² 1 Macc. 13 27 f.

is translated by 'souls' in the Syriac text. On the monumental tomb of Helena, Isates, and Monobazus three 'souls' were placed.³

The term 'soul' for sepulchral pillar also occurs in inscriptions at Palmyra, on Nabatean graves, and on Aramaic steles,⁴ and is also used by the southern Semites.⁵ "Ueberall bei den Süd-Semiten begegnet man die Stele als wichtigster Bestandteil der Gräber. Zwischen ihr und der Persönlichkeit des Verstorbenen scheint ein innerer Zusammenhang zu bestehen, daher heisst sie *nephesh* (Seele)."⁵

New light on this problem of the original meaning of this sepulchral monument is thrown by the results of the excavations of Professor E. Sellin at Tell Ta'annek in the plain of Jezreel. He excavated a pair of stone pillars, *maṣṣebot*, of various shapes. One of them has a deep notch across its top.⁶ Now everybody who has visited a Moslem cemetery in the lands surrounding the Mediterranean knows that the pillars over the graves of women are of different shape from those over the graves of men. On the grave of a man the small round pillar is adorned by a turban; the grave of a woman bears a small pillar of straight form, which is flat at the top. Sometimes at the top there is a slight excavation. If we compare these 'souls' or 'maṣṣebot' of the present day with the pillars of Ta'annek, we at once see that one of these forms must represent a female symbol. The other must consequently be a male symbol. This fully agrees with the fact that in an old Jewish cemetery in Switzerland, between Langnau and Endingen, there are some *maṣṣebot* that have a notch in their top in exactly the same way as one of the Ta'annek pillars.⁷

³ de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*, p. 90.

⁴ Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentumes*, p. 7, note; *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, II, no. 162, inscription of Suwaida; no. 196, inscription of Medeba; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, I, 139, 325.

⁵ Cf. Littmann in the Report on the German expedition to Abyssinia in *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1906.

⁶ Cf. J. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*², p. 325.

⁷ Cf. *Jewish Encyclopædia*, art. "Cemetery."

Then a wide field of investigation opens itself to us. For we find stone pillars of this shape not only in Ta'annek, but also in Egypt, in the form of obelisks. Besides the common obelisk, with its pointed top, we find the so-called An-pillar, of which the top is notched across. My friend Professor W. B. Kristensen has drawn my attention to *Description de l'Égypte*, A. I, pl. 15 (Philae), no. 12, where the An-obelisk is crossed by the phallus. The common obelisk with the pointed top has certainly something to do with the phallus, for Wiedemann⁸ tells us that small wooden obelisks are found in which only phalli were buried. I cannot enter here into the details of this question, but I think that these two facts give sufficient evidence for our theory that the stone obelisk maṣṣebah represents sometimes the male, sometimes the female, form. We actually find that the pillars before the temple at Paphos had notched tops.⁹ Another female maṣṣebah is found in Geser.¹⁰

If we have to assume that the maṣṣebah is connected with the male and the female principles of life, we can interpret the stone pillar only as a form of the phallus. The pillar of which the top is notched must be interpreted as a symbol of the female pudenda. In some old cemeteries in the Dutch Indies and Japan we find various instances of the custom of setting upon the graves pillars which leave no doubt about the sex of the deceased person.¹¹

The primitive ideas about life after death fully explain the original meaning of this 'maṣṣebah' monument. It is generally believed that all the parts of the human body which show the power of life and growth that inhabits a living man are seats of life. The hair is constantly growing, therefore it is supposed to have some mysterious power. The nails are regarded in the same way as things containing magical power. So all that is connected with sexuality is

⁸ *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte*, i, p. 372.

⁹ Cf. the coin with the outline of the temple-front in Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 3. 120.

¹⁰ Cf. Hugues Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'Exploration Récente*, pp. 111, 114.

¹¹ Cf. E. Bälz, in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1901, pp. 180, 182.

considered to be 'taboo,' and the many forms of amulets used in Oriental lands until the present day show the great power ascribed to sexual symbols. It is therefore easily understood that representations of the male and the female sexual life were chosen as symbols with which the power of life was especially connected.

According to primitive religious belief, the soul, embodied in the breath, leaves the body of a dying man. The soul, however, remains in the neighborhood of the corpse, and is near the grave, at least during the first weeks after the burial. Now it is necessary that this soul have a place of rest, in order not to be compelled to wander about. It must receive food and drink at proper times, and is supposed to do mischief to the surviving relatives if no shelter and food are offered. The *massebah* is easily explained as a house for the soul. Therefore the name of the deceased person is inscribed upon it; and the monument itself is called 'soul.' The male form was chosen for the graves of men, the female form for the graves of women.

It is very common that customs are preserved during centuries without anybody really understanding the original meaning of them. In such cases a new meaning may be combined with them. Thus the male form of the *massebah* was transformed by the later Moslems into a small pillar crowned with a turban. The Jewish *massebah* became a flat stone tablet, sometimes even a small tablet of marble laid flat upon the grave. In the various shapes of these tablets there is now very seldom anything which recalls the original meaning, but the names *massebah* and *nephesh* show that the tombstone of the present Jewish cemeteries has a story to tell which is connected with the most primitive religious ideas of mankind.

Meaning and Usage of the Term תושיה

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THE word תושיה, which occurs five times in Job, four times in Proverbs, once in Isaiah, and once in Micah, is called by Gesenius "ein von der Chokmaliteratur geprägtes Wort," and by the Brown-Driver-Briggs Lexicon "a technical term of the Wisdom Literature." This of course is merely a description; and hides, one suspects, some uncertainty as to what technical distinction it really stands for. Nor is the suspicion allayed when we note how many proposed meanings we have to select from. Brown-Driver-Briggs defines the word as "sound, efficient wisdom, abiding success." Taking the various translations of it in the Authorized Version, the Revised Version, and by Professor Toy (in his Commentary on Proverbs) we may have our choice of "wisdom," "deliverance," "skill," "enterprise," "worth," "business," "understanding," "working," "effectual working," "sound wisdom," "sound knowledge," "that which is," and "the thing as it is," — more translations than there are occurrences of the word.¹ Evidently it has been something

¹ Since this study was in type, my attention has been called to an article by Dr. Karl J. Grimm on "The Meaning and Etymology of the word תושיה in the Old Testament," in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxii, pp. 35. Dr. Grimm thus sums up his study: "A detailed investigation of all the passages where תושיה occurs thus reveals the fact that it signifies 'support,' then 'help, success, power, source of help, reliability.'" For the words "reveals the fact" I should be inclined to substitute "strengthens the opinion," i.e. Dr. Grimm's opinion. The original signification of the word, he thinks, was 'prop' or 'support'; which he finds most primarily suggested in a *Qerê* of the last word of Job 30 22, translating the clause, "Thou allowest me to totter without support." In a long list of meanings proposed by scholars ancient and modern, the nearest to the one given in my paper is thus noted: "Hengstenberg regards 'insight' (*Einsicht*) as the only proper rendering of the word."

of a puzzle to scholars. And to one who is interested in the history and terminology of the Wisdom literature it cannot but be a challenge.

Its root affinities, doubtless, have been the guide to several of the translations I have enumerated. When the Authorized Version renders it "that which is" and the Revised Version "effectual working," they are thinking of the unused root ישה which, not knowing how to define, they connect with the frequently used יש, *being, substance, existence*, the nearest Hebrew equivalent of our verb *it is*, or *there is*. This derivation, so far as it goes, would seem to point to a sense of the reality of things, or as we should put it in modern phrase, of truth absolute. We seem to come especially near that sense in Job 11 6, where the Authorized Version translates Zophar's words כִּי־כַפְלִים לַתּוֹשִׁיָה, "that they (namely, the secrets of wisdom) are double to that which is" (whatever that may mean), and where in my *Epic of the Inner Life*, with the light I then had, I ventured to translate, "For there is fold on fold to truth." I should modify that now, as the sequel will show, though I am not sure I should translate it differently. The derivation and affiliation help us indeed a little way; but for the life, the *feel* of the word we have to go from the isolation of the dictionary to its vital function in the context and in the situation which it mirrors.

In all the occurrences of the word one senses more or less distinctly the relation of its essential idea to truth absolute, or as we may express it, to the יש of things. That is why the connotation of soundness, efficiency, finality, is so generally associated as a kind of woof with its fundamental warp of wisdom. The word means wisdom in a certain relation to that which is. What then, specifically, is that relation?

My idea of it came as I was reading Micah 6 9, one of the two passages outside of the Wisdom books wherein the word occurs. The passage, by the way, as is not unusual with texts not immediately transparent, has been pelted with the epithet 'corrupt'; but I recalled what Carlyle once said about the epithet 'mystical,' with which the scholars of his

day depreciated the German literature. "‘Mystical,’" he writes, "in most cases will turn out to be merely synonymous with *not understood*." One suspects that the word "corrupt" may sometimes merit the same synonym; at any rate the passage seemed to make sense as truly as if it were integral. And when I read, "The voice of Jahveh calleth unto the city, and תושיה² will see thy name," it occurred to me that in this pairing off of the two terms, קול יהוה and תושיה, lay the key to the meaning of the word. Micah is speaking from the prophetic consciousness, and magnifies his office; to him the קול יהוה, the voice from above, or as we should say revelation, is the authentic guarantee of truth to men; but, he says, תושיה, the insight from below, or as we should say common sense, by simply tracing cause to effect, ought to recognize the same thing, and then goes on to give his hearers a lesson in cause and effect, expressed in the terms of market and traffic which are characteristic of their Wisdom dialect.

Here then, I think, is suggested the distinctive meaning of the term תושיה. It is the subjective aspect of Wisdom, as חכמה is its objective and as it were professional aspect. It is human intuition looking up toward truth absolute from beneath, as distinguished from the קול יהוה, divine revelation speaking authoritatively from above. From time immemorial the Hebrews had been schooled in the implicit idea that truth, to be really authentic, must come from God, spoken to Moses or heard by prophetic ears; but in the use of this word תושיה it seems that they are coming to value

² Or *the man* of תושיה, for the verb is masculine. There is a conflict of genders here, which even the Greek translation, καὶ σώσει φοβούμενους τὸ δόγμα αὐτοῦ does not resolve. Is there an omission in the Hebrew text, or has our word, in becoming a *terminus technicus*, become masculine, like the word קהלת, another *quasi* technicalism? The Greek, in translating as if the word were יושִׁיעַ, may have had another text, or it may have attempted to correct what it had, in order to make a sense more intelligible to its later time. It seems that the sense of תושיה was lost to the agnostic age which doubted that such a thing was possible; Koheleth, for instance, paraphrases it, Eccl. 7 24, "Far off, that which is (מה־שָׁרִיד), and deep, deep—who shall find it?" Whatever the true reading, however, it does not affect the suggestion that I derived from the Massoretic text; which must stand on its own merits.

their human intuitions too, and to accord to their findings an authentic and *quasi* revelatory value. The human initiative in thought is coming to trust in itself, without conscious support and authorization from heaven.

As we take this implication for תושיה and apply it to the passages where the word occurs, they seem to radiate a new light. Of the four occurrences in the Book of Proverbs only one is in the older Solomonic section, and this we may regard as the earliest use of the word. It is at 18 1, a verse whose stigma of "corrupt" seems really to lose its motive under the application of the word's new sense. It reads, "He that separateth himself (that is, from human sympathies and affairs) seeketh his own desire, and quarreleth with all תושיה," or as we might interpret, egoism is at odds with sane and trustworthy insight,—a truly acute observation. If this is the true sense, the remark seems to indicate that the sages are exploiting the values of intuition, as if it were something analogous to that vision without which the people perish (cf. 29 18), and are noting the spiritual conditions favorable or unfavorable to it. The other three occurrences, which are all in the introductory and presumably latest section, seem to mark the enhanced spiritual value which came to be set upon the quality, raising it as an ingredient of the objective חכמה almost to divine rank. In chapter 2 7, "He layeth up תושיה for the upright"; in 3 21, 22, "Keep תושיה and discretion; so shall they be life to thy soul, and grace to thy neck." In 8 14 that remarkable personification Our Lady Wisdom, enumerating her perfections, says, "Counsel is mine, and תושיה," as if intuition were one of the endowments which give her rank as a master-workman sporting in the creative presence of God and in his habitable earth (8 30). All these seem to reflect the sages' delight in having discovered a new spiritual potency in man.

When we come to the Book of Job the word has become well naturalized in the Wisdom terminology, though its value seems to be felt only from the native human side. It is used by Job himself, by Eliphaz, and by Zophar. In chapter 5 12 Eliphaz, girding in an insinuating description at the

bewildered Job, seems to set the quality over against craft and cunning: "He frustrateth the devices of the crafty, so that their hands cannot perform תושיה." If this is a covert reproach of Job, it is given, except for the craft, not without apparent reason; for Job himself in his answer, bewailing the gloom into which his affliction has cast him, complains, 6 13: "Is it not that I have no help in me, and that תושיה is driven quite from me?"—a natural enough thing for him to say, if the injustice he suffers belies all his intuitions of the world order. The passage 11 6, wherein Zophar wishes that God would show Job the secrets of wisdom, "for there is a double fold to תושיה" (as much as to say תושיה sees two things in one), has already been cited. It seems to indicate that in the sages' speculations the sense of penetrative insight was reaching out to mystic inner meanings in the phenomenal world, as if, like Goethe, they were discovering that

„Alles Vergängliche
Ist nur ein Gleichniß.“

In his answer to this, 12 16, Job, who has not yet emerged from the eclipse into which his unjust affliction has thrown him, relegates the whole matter of authentic insight to his enigmatic God: "With him," he says, "are strength and תושיה; the deceived and the deceiver are his." This is just at the point in his experience where the old truisms of Wisdom are felt to be one and all inapplicable to his case, and he is left resourceless. Immediately thereafter, however, detecting his friends' selfish insincerity in urging them upon him, he indignantly rejects their "proverbs of ashes"; and from that point, committing himself anew to his sense of the godlike, he makes a magnificent recovery and pushes his new-found faith to the height. The friends continue in the old strain, exaggerating it to a veritable *reductio ad absurdum*; and by the time Bildad has delivered the last feeble dregs of their argument Job retorts in ironical vein, 26 3, "How hast thou counselled the unwise, and made known תושיה in exuberance!" Evidently he has so regained the intuitive sense which had suffered temporary eclipse that he can ridicule the lack of it in others. And this is quite in

keeping with the course of the argument. The Book of Job exists largely to depict the contrast between the obtuseness of a fossilized dogmatism and the clarity of an intuitive faith to discover "the thing that is right" (cf. 42 7).

Only one more citation remains; but that is one of the most illuminating of all. It is the use of the word by Isaiah, and because it is a reading from the prophetic consciousness, it may well be compared with that of his contemporary, Micah. The occasion is noteworthy. In chapter 28 he has been urging his reiterated warnings on the self-confident nobles, only to be met by their sneer that he is talking baby-talk to them; they are weaned, they say, and no longer need such thin diet. Evidently, like their ancestors of old, their souls loathe the monotonous fare that is provided them from heaven. Whereupon Isaiah proceeds to compose them a passage in the popular Wisdom idiom; calls their attention after the manner of the sages (cf. 28 23 with Prov. 22 17), and then gives them a masterly little discourse about timeliness and fitness in the operations of husbandry, in plowing, and sowing, and threshing. Here then is their prophetic warning molded in the analogical style and industrial subject-matter that the current thought of the age delights in. Just as Micah says, "And תוֹשִׁיָה will see thy name," so Isaiah's implication is, "Your human insight, working with the analogies of your common work, ought to discern the signs of the times, the divine fitness of things." Then summing up at the end, 28 29, he identifies the source of true Wisdom values with that of prophetic values: "This also cometh forth from Jahveh of hosts, who maketh counsel wonderful, and magnifieth תוֹשִׁיָה." The same Being who sends his word from the unseen also gives the augmenting touch which lifts human intuition beyond itself, and gives it a claim on truth absolute. The power to see clearly and interpret soundly is an attribute which the human derives from the divine; "himself from God he cannot free."

This word of Isaiah's is thus an implied tribute to the human potencies of wisdom; but also it is tinged with reproach. It implies that his audience is not living up to its

powers and occasion. The passage was called forth by the political diplomacies that the nobles deemed so clever, wherein they bragged of the covenant they had concluded with death and Sheol. Yet all this was deserting divine authority in sole reliance on human finding. A little later, and in connection with this same inner crisis, as he inveighs against their Egyptian alliance planned without reference to Jahveh's will, he says, 31 2, "Yet he also is wise (חכם), and will bring evil." There is wisdom up there, as well as down here. They are acting as if they had the monopoly of political sagacity, and as if revelation no longer counted. But the very capacity for clever management of affairs on which they so pride themselves is of the very essence of the prophecy which they so despise. This is quite parallel with what I have just cited. He magnifieth intuition; wisdom is his, as well as man's.

The clause parallel to the one in which our word occurs must not escape notice. Not only does Jahveh enhance intuition, but also הַפִּלָּא עֲצָה, he supernaturalizes counsel, makes it transcend the ordinary and earthly. Counsel, sagacious direction of affairs, was the practical and utilitarian object of the Wisdom philosophy. In Prov. 8 14, as we have seen, the personified חכמה, speaking of her rich endowments, couples it, just as Isaiah does here, with תוֹשִׁיָּה; as much as to say counsel is one of the creative attributes. But Isaiah, looking from the divine point of view, is the representative of a higher standard and reach, a counsel touched to more spiritual issues. This too Jahveh vitalizes, gives it transcendency,—for this is what הַפִּלָּא means, not simply that he makes it astonishing. And this is exactly parallel to, and exexegetical of, the enhancing of human intuition; he gives to תוֹשִׁיָּה as to עֲצָה the light of the divine, the light that never was on sea or land. This is a tremendous tribute to human powers. Nor does he make it in order to arrogate such divinely touched insight to the prophetic order alone. From this remarkable assertion our minds turn back to an earlier passage wherein the prophet uses the same root-words. In chapter 9 6, where he announces the birth of

the Child with the four mystic names, the first name he gives the Child is פלא יועץ, Wonder-Counsellor. The child that is born, whomever the prophet has in mind, has such spiritual potency in him that the counsel he gives is not a mere prudential earth-creeping thing but infused with the miraculous, the divine. There is no occasion here to speculate on who or what is meant by this Wonder-Child, though it would not be foreign to our subject; suffice it that such a power, the power of a פלא יועץ, is born into the remnant of the nation. And we can feel how parallel this is to the prophet's idea that, with the vital touch from above, human insight, תושיה, acquires divine value.

All this throws a good deal of light on the development of the Wisdom philosophy. It looks as if, in Isaiah's thankless time of struggle to make spiritual values prevail, the Wisdom strain of thinking was so in the ascendant that he must needs speak in its idiom to make his austere warnings viable. Both he and Micah accentuate their message by appeal to this popular strain. And by the tribute they pay to the potencies of תושיה they do much to bring the two literatures, that of Wisdom and that of prophecy, as it were under one vocabulary. The identification would not be lost on the sages. From this time on, one may conjecture, the devout cultivators of Wisdom became increasingly aware of the *quasi* revelatory value of their disciplined intuition; its כפלים character, fold on fold, as Zophar averred, was aimed at the secrets of God. Nay, one is tempted to think that with some this daring estimate may have been liberated to the verge of excess. Do we not detect a hint of this in the fact that Agur the son of Jakeh, in Proverbs 30, who disclaims ability to penetrate transcendent things and is agnostic about God, yet calls his contribution to Wisdom המשא, *the oracle*, and introduces it with נאם הנבקר, employing the mystic word which hitherto men have ventured to apply only to an utterance of God? Was this a kind of impudence on his part, thus to usurp the נאם, or was it his conviction that the findings of his intuition ranked with the word from above, so as to be, as the Rabbis say, מפי הנבורה, from the mouth of

Might, or Authority? I leave the question not for answer but for meditation. Agur's utterances are perhaps as little worthy as any scripture to bear out such high claim; they are in fact not of the finest vintage; and by so much they tend to provoke the conjecture that there was a shade of arrogance in some of the later Wisdom. But at any rate, as a sublime contrast to this, and as a worthy fellow in revelatory value to Isaiah, we can put forward such a book as the Book of Job, to prove how in wealth of faith and insight into the divine world order Jahveh sets his seal on the candid exercise of תושייה; magnifying and transfiguring it until in spite of the fiercest assaults of adverse circumstance and opinion it can rise to speak of Jahveh "the thing that is right."

The Meaning of Acts 14

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Καὶ συναλιζόμενος παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων μὴ χωρίζεσθαι. The meaning of these words has long been a matter of uncertainty. *Συναλίζω*, *collect* or *assemble*, is common in classical and Hellenistic Greek, and many interpreters have naturally understood the word in this sense here. Thus Luther, taking *συναλιζόμενος* as a middle participle, translated it *als er sie versammelt hatte*. But the middle voice, though on *a priori* grounds defensible as indicating the interest felt by the subject in the action, does not occur in actual use. The A.V. and the R.V. in the text regard the participle as passive and render it *being assembled together with them*, i.e. *meeting with them*. On the other hand, the Vulgate translates *συναλιζόμενος* by *convescens*. This interpretation antedates the time of Jerome in the West, and may extend back into the second century;¹ and in the East it was known certainly as early as the third century.² It is also found in Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and some other Greek interpreters,³ as well as in the margin of

¹ Codex *d* reads *simul convivens*. Dr. Rendel Harris suspects that the basis of the Old Latin translation found in this Ms. existed in the early part of the second century (cf. *Texts and Studies*, II. i. p. 225). But on the whole *d* is 'European' and in general represents a Latin text of the third or fourth century. Codex *e*² reads *convescens*. But this corrector belongs perhaps to the end of the sixth century and has probably introduced the word from the Vulgate.

² Cf. Tischendorf, *ad loc.*

³ Cf. Epiphanius (Migne, *Patr. Graec.* xli. 277; xlii. 88); Chrysostom (Migne, *op. cit.* li. 104 *bis*, 107; lx. 19, 22); Theodoret (Migne, *op. cit.* lxxxiii. 160); Oecumenius (Migne, *op. cit.* cxviii. 48); Theophylact (Migne, *op. cit.* cxxv. 508).

both the A.V. and the R.V. The rendering *while he ate with them*—for so the present participle with this meaning must be understood⁴—presents an impressive picture, which comports well with the notices concerning the breaking of bread and the eating of a piece of broiled fish in Lk. 24 30, 41-43 and with the declaration of Peter in Ac. 10 41. These passages would naturally commend the interpretation *eating with* in Ac. 14 to a Greek writer if he was acquainted with *συναλίζομαι* in that sense.

There is no doubt that the meaning *eat with* was attached to *συναλίζομαι*, and it seems highly probable that there were two verbs quite distinct in etymology and meaning—*συνᾱλίζω*, *collect* or *assemble* (from *ἄλῆς*, *crowded*), and *συνᾱλίζομαι*, *eat with* (from *ἄλς*, *salt*).⁵ In prose writings the two verbs would be easily confused in the passive.

Συναλίζομαι, *eat with*, was known to others than the ecclesiastical writers above mentioned. It occurs once without doubt in the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*.⁶ The *Grund-schrift* of the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* was written in the third century,⁷ and hence this example of the word cannot antedate that period.

There is probably another instance of *συναλίζομαι*, *eat with*, in an astrological poem of composite authorship which is wrongly ascribed to Manetho.⁸ So far as the sense is concerned, *συναλιζόμενον* might be either from *συνᾱλίζω*, *collect*, or from *συνᾱλίζομαι*, *eat with*. But unless the writer disregarded the quantity of the *a*, the participle must be from the latter verb.⁹ The verse in question occurs in a part of

⁴ Cf. Weiss, *Die Apostelgeschichte*,² p. 20.

⁵ Cf. Woolsey in *Bib. Sacr.* xxxix. p. 608.

⁶ Cf. [Clem.], *Hom.* 13. 4 : αὐτοῖς συναλιζόμεθα. Cf. also *Recog.* 7. 29 : cum eis cibum sumimus, which is parallel to the above passage in the *Homilies*.

⁷ Cf. Waitz in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xxv. p. 75 ; Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur*, ii. p. 533.

⁸ Cf. [Manetho], *Apotelesmatica*, 5. 339 : πῆμα λυγρῷ γαμετῇ συναλιζόμενον κακοῦθες (of a bad wife).

⁹ So Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, s.v. ; and Woolsey in *op. cit.* xxxix. p. 610.

the poem which is considerably later than the time of Julian (A.D. 361-363).¹⁰

In Ps. 140 4 (Heb. 141 4) an anonymous translator, whose work has been preserved in Origen's *Hexapla*, has used the word συναλισθῶ.¹¹ The Hebrew at this place is אָכַל, *eat*, and Symmachus's version has συμφάγοιμι; but the LXX reads συνδοιάσω from συνδοιάζω, *join oneself with*. The versions of Aquila and Theodotion are wanting in this place. Some, in accordance with the LXX, have taken συναλισθῶ from συναλίζω, *collect*.¹² But the anonymous translator, who probably lived in the second century of the Christian era, seems to have been following the Hebrew text as we have it.¹³ Hence συναλισθῶ must be from συναλίζομαι, *eat with*.¹⁴

I have not been able to find any instance of συναλίζομαι, *eat with*, in the papyri, and it seems to be unknown in modern Greek.¹⁵ In short, there is no evidence for the existence of συναλίζομαι, *eat with*, before the second century after Christ,¹⁶ and even thereafter it is extremely rare.

We should not adopt this unusual meaning for συναλιζόμενος in Ac. 14, especially since there is no proof that it was known before the second century of our era, unless we are forced to do so by weighty considerations. Luke uses the unambiguous συνεσθίω three times in the Gospel and the Acts,¹⁷ and there seems to be no reason why he should not

¹⁰ Cf. Riess in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ii. col. 1824.

¹¹ Cf. Migne, *op. cit.* xvi. 1237.

¹² So Stephanus, *op. cit.* s.v.; and Woolsey in *op. cit.* xxxix. p. 608 f.

¹³ Heb. כָּל אָכַל בְּמַנְעִמָּהוּ

LXX. καὶ οὐ μὴ συνδοιάσω μετὰ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτῶν.

Anon. μὴ συναλισθῶ ἐν ταῖς τερπνότησιν αὐτῶν.

Sym. μηδὲ συμφάγοιμι τὰ ἡδέα αὐτῶν.

¹⁴ So the Latin translation in Migne, and Meyer (cf. his *Kommentar über das N.T.*⁴ on Ac. 14). Dr. Woolsey thought this interpretation improbable because of the unlikelihood of there being an aorist passive form from this verb (cf. Woolsey in *op. cit.* xxxix. p. 609). But συνεσθίη, *ate with*, occurs in Epiphanius (cf. Migne, *op. cit.* xlii. 88).

¹⁵ The so-called *Etymologicum Magnum* recognizes the two meanings *collect* and *eat with* under the word συναλιζόμενοι.

¹⁶ So Woolsey in *op. cit.* xxxix. p. 612.

¹⁷ Lk. 15 2; Ac. 10 41; 11 3.

have used the same word here if he had wished to express the idea of *eating with*. However, several modern commentators of the highest rank have felt obliged to take *συναλιζόμενος* here in the sense of *eating with*.¹⁸ Weiss gives succinctly the two reasons which are thought to require the adoption of this meaning: (1) on account of the present tense of the participle, and (2) because of its reference to a single person.¹⁹ I shall discuss the second of these reasons first.

There is one certain case in which *συναλιζω*, *collect*, is used in the passive of a single person. It is found in a fragment ascribed to Petosiris, a semi-mythical Egyptian priest and astrologer, which has been preserved by the philosopher Proclus. The trustworthiness of Petosiris in certain theurgic matters is based on his association with gods and angels.²⁰ Hence there can be no objection to taking *συναλιζόμενος* in Ac. 14 from *συναλιζω*, *collect*, on the ground that it refers to a single person.²¹

The present tense of the participle presents a more serious difficulty. The aorist *παρήγγειλεν* is understood of a single act in past time, and the present participle is at once seen to be incongruous.²² For with this interpretation of *παρήγγειλεν* it can only mean *as he met with them*; whereas the sense *when he had met with them*, which would be quite intelligible here, requires the aorist participle *συναλισθείς*.²³ Dr. Woolsey

¹⁸ So Meyer, Overbeck, Blass, Wendt, Holtzmann, and Weiss; but not de Wette.

¹⁹ Cf. Weiss, *op. cit.* p. 20.

²⁰ Cf. Riess in *Philologus*, Supplbd., vi. p. 380, frag. 33: *εἰ ὁ ταῦτα γράφων Περδσεῖρις ἐστὶν ἀξιόχρεως, ἀνὴρ παντοίαις τάξεσι θεῶν τε καὶ ἀγγέλων συναλισθεῖς.*

²¹ If Stephanus and Woolsey are right in referring *συναλισθῶ* in the anonymous translation of Ps. 1404 to *συναλιζω*, *collect*, we have another instance of this verb used of a single person. The present writer, however, believes that *συναλισθῶ* in this place is from *συναλιζομαι*, *eat with* (cf. *supra*, p. 124). With *συναλιζόμενος* we may compare the use of *συνάγω* in Jn. 182: *συνήχθη Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ.*

²² Thus Blass (*Acta Apostolorum*, p. 42) says, "praesens plane ferri nequit."

²³ Hesychius, *s.v.*, explains *συναλιζόμενος* by *συναλισθεῖς*. This may give rise to a suspicion that *συναλιζόμενος* in Ac. 14 was sometimes explained by the aorist (cf. Woolsey in *op. cit.* xxxix. p. 613 f.); but it is certainly no warrant for our taking the present as an aorist.

says, "the verb in the passive with a deponent meaning can denote, if I mistake not, both the transitory act of being assembled or meeting with another, and the permanent condition of being in a meeting."²⁴ In support of this opinion he cites a passage from the *Iliad* (Ω 801 f.):

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
εἴ συναγειρόμενοι δαίνυντ' ἐρικυδέα δαῖτα
δώμασιν ἐν Πριάμοιο διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος

(the funeral feast of Hector). But the Homeric passage is quite different. It depicts a scene in which the crowd is seen gathering together and feasting. Dr. Woolsey's interpretation of Ac. 14 gives to the present *συναλιζόμενος* the force of the perfect. *Συνηλισμένος* would mean that he had met with them and was still in their company when the charge was given. The present participle, however, denotes an action, and not an abiding condition resulting from an action. Hence this solution of the difficulty must be abandoned. On account of the supposed impossibility of explaining the present tense if *συναλιζόμενος* is connected with *συναλίζω*, *collect*, a number of modern commentators have adopted the meaning *eating with*.²⁵

But it is possible to preserve the proper force of the present participle without giving to the word this unusual meaning. Vss. 3 and 4 are closely connected in thought, both recounting incidents of the forty days subsequent to the Lord's resurrection.²⁶ The aorists *παρέστησεν* and *παρήγγειλεν* are complexive, and present a summary view of a whole course of past action.²⁷ The course of action so summarized extended throughout the forty days, Jesus appearing and meeting with the disciples at intervals during that period. The complexive aorist differs from the imper-

²⁴ Cf. Woolsey in *op. cit.* xxxix. p. 126.

²⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 126.

²⁶ Therefore the colon of Tischendorf and Weiss is preferable to the period of Westcott and Hort at the end of vs. 3.

²⁷ For this use of the aorist, which is also called the constative or the concentrative, cf. Brugmann, *Griechische Grammatik*,³ p. 475 f.; Moulton, *A Grammar of N. T. Greek*,³ i. p. 109.

fect in that the latter represents an action as progressing through its successive stages, whereas the former regards the entire course of action as concentrated in a single point.²⁸ The present participle can be used with its proper force in connection with the complexive aorist.²⁹ In Ac. 14 the present participle *συναλιζόμενος*, like *ὀπτανόμενος* and *λέγων* in the preceding verse, is iterative and refers to the several occasions on which Jesus bade his disciples to remain in Jerusalem. It is therefore coincident in time with the course of action summarized in *παρήγγειλεν*. Hence we may translate *καὶ συναλιζόμενος παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων μὴ χωρίζεσθαι* thus: *and meeting with them* (from time to time) *he charged them not to depart from Jerusalem*.

If this interpretation is adopted, the meaning which is lexically more probable for *συναλιζόμενος* may be retained and the use of the present participle with the aorist *παρήγγειλεν* can be satisfactorily explained.

²⁸ The distinction between the complexive aorist and the imperfect can be clearly seen in Ac. 28 30: *ἐνέμεινεν δὲ διετίαν ὅλην ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι, καὶ ἀπεδέχετο πάντας τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους πρὸς αὐτόν*.

²⁹ Cf. Thuc. ii. 47, 4: *ὅσα τε πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἰκέτευσαν ἢ μαντέλοις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐχρήσαντο, πάντα ἀνωφελῆ ἦν, τελευτῶντές τε αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενοι* (i.e. during the plague at Athens).

A Word-Study of Hebrews 13

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IT has recently been argued that Hebrews 1-12 is an exhortation or homily rather than an epistle. But Hebrews 13 is certainly epistolary in form. Can we divorce this chapter from those preceding, and argue that it was added by another hand, perhaps by the person who sent this homily to Rome? Did the person who added this chapter write in imitation of the closing exhortations and messages of Paul's epistles to imply the Pauline authorship of the whole?

A word-study of the chapter offers certain interesting suggestions bearing on these questions. The study is not intended to cover every word contained in the chapter, but only those which are significant. The material is drawn mainly from Thayer's Lexicon.

I. *N.T. words found only in Hebrews.*

Of the 169 words peculiar to the writer of Hebrews, 7 are found in chap. 13.

Of these 5 are found only in Hebrews 13: *συνδέω*, *αἶνεσις*, *ἐνποιῶ*, *ὑπείκω*, and *ἀλυσιτελής*. One, *αἶνεσις*, is taken from the Septuagint.

Two of the 7 occur in Hebrews 1-12: *κακουχέω*, found in Heb. 11 37, a good parallel (cf. *συγκακουχέω*, Heb. 11 25), and *εὐαρεστέω*, found in Heb. 11 5. 6, in a quotation from the Septuagint. In 2 Tim. 2 9, we have *κακοῦργος*, which is a fair parallel to the former word.

II. *Meanings and usages peculiar to Hebrews.*

The words of Hebrews 13 show a surprising number of meanings and usages not found elsewhere in the N.T. In

many cases Paul uses other words or constructions to express the same or similar ideas.

1. *λανθάνω*. Here found, according to a well-known classical usage, "joined in a finite form to a participle."
2. *γάμος*. Here means "marriage," elsewhere in the N.T. a wedding or a wedding banquet. Found in no other epistle, though common in the Gospels. Paul employs *γαμέω* and *γαμίζω*.
3. *τρόπος*. Only here of "manner of life," "character"; cf. Did. 11 8. Paul and Luke use the word of "manner," etc.
4. *ἡγέομαι*. The participle with the genitive of the persons over whom they rule is used three times in this chapter of the overseers or leaders of the church. The nearest N.T. usage is Acts 15 22. Paul, Peter, and Hebrews 1-12 use the word in the sense "to consider."

Paul in 1 Thess. 5 12 uses *προϊστάμενοι* in a similar sense.

5. *ἐκβασις*. Elsewhere only in 1 Cor. 10 13, "a way out"; cf. *ἐξοδος* in 2 Pet. 1 15.
6. *ἀναστροφή*. "*Life* in so far as it is comprised in conduct" (Thayer). Paul, Peter, and James use the word in the sense of behavior or conduct.
7. *παραφέρω*. Only here in the N.T. of being led aside from the truth; but compare Jude 12.

In both these cases the Rec. has *περιφέρω*, which Paul uses in 2 Cor. 4 10, Eph. 4 14. Did the wish to conform Hebrews to Paul's style have any influence here?

8. *θυσιαστήριον*. This metaphorical use is not found in Paul's writings, though the word is used thrice. The word is found in Heb. 7 13.
9. *σκηνή*. If it here signifies the temple, this is its only N.T. use in this sense. Never used by Paul, though common in Hebrews 1-12, and five times in Luke-Acts.
10. *συνείδησις*. A common word, but only here used with

καλή. The Pastorals use ἀγαθή and καθαρά. Peter uses ἀγαθή.

11. ἀποκαθίστημι. Only here "of a man at a distance from his friends, and to be restored to them" (Thayer). In the Gospels and Acts of restoration to a former state.

Paul in Philemon 22 expresses a similar thought, using χαρίζομαι.

12. διὰ βραχέων. "In a few (words)," i.e. briefly. So Plato, Demosthenes, and Josephus. 1 Pet. 5 12 says δι' ὀλίγων ἔγραψα. Paul does not use βραχύς, though it is found in Heb. 2 7. 9.

13. ἐπιστέλλω. "To write a letter" as in Plato (who adds the cognate acc.), Clement of Rome, and often in Greek authors, but nowhere else in the N.T.

Paul uses γράφω, found in Hebrews only 10 7, and there in a quotation. Peter, John, and Jude also use γράφω.

The number of usages and meanings peculiar to Hebrews 13, and the fact that Paul and other writers express the same ideas in different words, would imply that the writer was not consciously or unconsciously imitating any other author of the N.T. His thoughts are common to the writers of other letters, but his presentation of them is peculiarly his own.

III. *Words common to Hebrews 13 and Paul, but also found in Hebrews 1-12.*

This list indicates that these words contained in Hebrews 13 may be explained as due to the influence of Hebrews 1-12—that is, to the writer of that section or one who imitated him—rather than to an imitation of Paul's style. The fact that many of these words are used in a manner unlike Paul adds weight to this argument.

1. ἐπιλανθάνομαι. In Heb. 6 10 this word is used with the genitive as in Heb. 13 2 and 13 16, while in Phil. 3 13, its only appearance in Paul's writings, it is used with the accusative.
2. μνησκόω. Heb. 2 6 8 12 10 17, always in O.T. quotations. In 1 Cor. 11 2 Paul uses it of remembering

himself. In 2 Tim. 1 4 it is used of remembering Timothy's tears. Paul prefers *μνημονεύω*; see below (5).

3. *δέσμιος*. Heb. 10 34 is parallel.

In Ephesians, Philemon, and 2 Timothy, it is used of Paul as "the prisoner of Jesus Christ."

4. *πόρνος*. Found in Heb. 12 16, but the closest parallel is 1 Cor. 6 9, where as here it is coupled with *μοιχός*.

5. *μνημονεύω*. Heb. 11. 15. 22.

Paul prefers this verb to *μιμνήσκω*; see above (2).

6. *σήμερον*. Seven times in Hebrews 1-12, three times by Paul, once in a quotation.

7. *ποικίλος*. Heb. 2 4. Also 2 Tim. 3 6, Tit. 3 3, James 1 2, 1 Pet. 1 6 4 10.

8. *ξένος*. Heb. 11 13. Also Rom. 16 23, Eph. 2 12. 19, 1 Pet. 4 12.

9. *διδασκαλία*. Heb. 6 2. Also Rom. 6 17, 16 17, 1 Cor. 14 6. 26, but here used of *true* teaching. In Eph. 4 14, Col. 2 22, *διδασκαλία* is used of *false* doctrine, or doctrines of men. This latter word is frequently found in Timothy and Titus.

10. *βεβαιόω*. Heb. 2 3. Also Rom. 15 8, 1 Cor. 1 6. 8, 2 Cor. 1 21, Col. 2 7.

11. *βρώμα*. Heb. 9 10. Also Rom. 14 15. 20, 1 Cor. 3 2, etc.

12. *ώφελέω*. Heb. 4 2. Also Rom. 2 25, 1 Cor. 14 6, etc.

13. *ἀγιάζω*. Five times in Hebrews 1-12, several times by Paul.

14. *πάσχω*. Three times in Hebrews 1-12, common in Paul and Peter.

15. *ἐξέρχομαι*. Four times in Hebrews 1-12, used by Paul, James, John, not Peter.

16. *ὀνειδισμός*. Evidently parallel to Heb. 11 26; cf. also 10 33. Paul uses it in Rom. 15 3 in a quotation from the O.T. Found also in 1 Tim. 3 7.

17. *οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν ὧδε μένουσαν πόλιν*. Evidently a reference to Heb. 11 16; cf. 10 34 12 27.

18. *ἐπιζητέω*. Evidently following Heb. 11 14, though the word is found in Rom. 11 7, Phil. 4 17.

19. *ὁμολογέω*. Heb. 11 13. Found in Rom. 10 9. 10, 1 Tim.

- 6 12, Tit. 1 16; but Paul prefers ἐξομολογέω for this meaning.
20. *πείθω*. Heb. 2 13 6 9. Common in Paul, but not in the sense of obeying church officers.
 21. *ψυχή*. Hebrews 1-12 five times. Peter, James, and John use the word in the same sense as Hebrews 13, but not Paul, see Thayer's N.T. Lexicon.
 22. *ἀποδίδωμι*. Heb. 12 11. 16 with λόγον in 1 Pet. 4 5, Lk. 16 2, Acts 19 40, and according to Lchm. and Treg. in Rom. 14 2, but the best editors do not find it in Paul.
 23. *περισσοτέρως*. Heb. 2 1. Common in Paul.
 24. *παρακαλέω*. Heb. 3 13 10 25. Paul and others use it commonly, but 1 Pet. 5 12 is the closest parallel.
 25. *καταρτίζω*. Heb. 10 5 11 3, but in a different sense. Best parallel 1 Pet. 5 10.
 26. *θέλημα*. Heb. 10 7. 9. 10. 36. Common in Paul and Peter.
 27. *εὐάρεστος*. Frequent in Paul, but the closest parallel is Heb. 12 28, where the adverb εὐαρέστως is used.
 28. *ἐνώπιον*. Heb. 4 13. Common in the epistles.
 29. *ἀσπάζομαι*. Heb. 11 13. Common in Paul, Peter, and John.

This list seems to imply that the writer of Hebrews 1-12 wrote also Hebrews 13, or that it was written in conscious imitation of the writer of the first section.

IV. *Words common to Hebrews 13 and Paul, but not found in Hebrews 1-12.*

This list bears on the question whether this chapter was written in imitation of Paul or not.

1. *φιλαδελφία*. Rom. 12 10, 1 Thes. 4 9, but this word is found also in 1 Pet. 1 22 and 2 Pet. 1 7, and the grace is enjoined by all the apostles and by most early Christian writers.
2. *φιλόξενία*. Only in Rom. 12 13, but φιλόξενος is a qualification of a bishop, see 1 Tim. 3 2 = Tit. 1 8, and compare 1 Pet. 4 9. Another common grace of early Christianity.

3. *τίμιος*. 1 Cor. 3 12 of costly stones. In 1 Pet. 1 19 is found a usage similar to that found here.
4. *κοίτη*. Rom. 9 10 13 13.
- 5 and 6. *πόρνος* and *μοιχός*, parallel to 1 Cor. 6 9, where both words are found, but probably a not infrequent association.
7. *τρόπος*. Used in a different sense by Paul.
8. *ἀρκέω*. Similar use in 1 Tim. 6 8; see also 2 Cor. 12 9, 3 John 10.
9. *θαρρέω*. Parallel usage in 2 Cor. 5 6. 8. Paul and Hebrews agree in using *θαρρέω*. Matthew, Mark, John, and Acts use *θαρσέω*.
10. *ἐκβασις*. 1 Cor. 10 13 uses this word in another sense. A true parallel is found in Wis. 2 17.
This, and the following words found in lists II and III, are here inserted for the sake of completeness.
11. *ἀναστροφή*. Paul uses the word in a different sense; see above II. 6.
12. *μυμνήσκω*. 2 Tim. 1 4, but Paul prefers *μνημονεύω*; see above, III. 5.
13. *τοῖνον*. Paul uses once, but after the first word of the sentence.
14. *κοινωνία*. Paul uses frequently, but this was a common word.
15. *στενάζω*. Rom. 8 23, 2 Cor. 5 2. 4; also James 5 9 and Mk. 7 34.
16. *προσεύχομαι*. Common in Paul and N.T.; cf. 1 Thess. 5 25.
17. *καλῶς*. Compare Gal. 4 17, James 2 8.
18. *θεός τῆς εἰρήνης*. Common in Paul's epistles, but by this time a liturgical form probably.
19. *ἀνάγω*. Parallel in Rom. 10 7.
20. *ποιμήν*. Eph. 4 11, but not of Christ, but of pastors. Never used of Christ by Paul. Close parallel 1 Pet. 2 25.
21. *πρόβατον*. Rom. 8 36 in a quotation, but a close parallel is 1 Pet. 2 25.
22. *εὐάρεστος*. Paul uses this word seven times, but its parallel can be found in Heb. 12 28, *εὐαρέστως*.

23. ἀνέχομαι. Found in Acts 18 14, and 2 Tim. 4 3, in the sense "to listen," but not elsewhere.
24. τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν Τιμόθεον. Parallel to 1 Thes. 3 2, but more commonly Paul calls Timothy ὁ ἀδελφός.
25. ἡ χάρις, etc. Parallel to Col. 4 18, but a common benediction.

This list indicates that the parallels between Hebrews 13 and Paul are not as many as is commonly supposed, and that most of them are very easily explained as commonplaces of Christian letters in the apostolic and post-apostolic age. There is not in any of Paul's epistles a doxology in which we find phrases woven from the Septuagint, as in the doxology of Heb. 13 20. 21.

V. *The following twenty-one words are common to Hebrews 13, Paul, and Peter, but not always with the same meaning:*

φιλαδελφία, μένω, τίμιος, ἀναστροφή, ξένος, ἀγιάζω, πάσχω, λαός, θυσία, χεῖλος, ψυχή, ἀποδίδωμι, συνείδησις, ἀναστρέφω, παρακαλέω, ποιμήν, πρόβατον, καταρτίζω, θέλημα, ἐνώπιον, ἀσπάζομαι.

I do not claim completeness for this list, but it shows how many of the words of this chapter are common property to writers of epistles.

VI. *The following nine words find closer parallels in 1 Peter than in Paul's writings:*

παρακαλέω, τίμιος, ἀμίαντος, ξένος, ἀναφέρω, ἀποδίδωμι, ποιμήν, πρόβατον, καταρτίζω.

Again, completeness is not claimed, but the list seems to indicate, not literary dependence, which no one claims, but that the two epistles came from similar conditions, and, as I believe, from about the same period.

The above study then tends to show:

1. That Hebrews 13 offers so many differences from Paul's writings in vocabulary, usages, and constructions that it is improbable that it was written by one who designed by affixing it to a homily to indicate the whole as a work of Paul.

2. That Hebrews 13 has a sufficient number of characteristic and peculiar expressions to make it improbable that it was written merely in imitation of Hebrews 1-12.

3. That Hebrews 13 has so many connections with Hebrews 1-12 that it is very difficult to divorce it from the preceding chapters.

4. That while Hebrews 1-12 may be an exhortation or homily rather than an epistle, Hebrews 13 *as a whole* is by the same writer, and was written to accompany the earlier chapters.

The Authorship and Character of the So-called "Epistle to the Hebrews"

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THE present essay is chiefly concerned with two things : first, the theory that the "Epistle to the Hebrews" was written by a woman, the evangelist Priscilla ; and second, the literary character of the document in its original form.

Harnack, in an article entitled "Probabilia über die Adresse und den Verfasser des Hebräerbriefs," published in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1900, 16-41, contends, with very great skill and ingenuity, that the author of the "Epistle to the Hebrews" was no other than Prisca, or Priscilla, the wife of Aquila — both of whom are mentioned several times, with distinction, in the New Testament writings. The "Epistle" was sent, Harnack concludes, from some city in the eastern part of the Mediterranean lands to a small circle of believers in Rome ; namely, that circle in which Aquila and Prisca had themselves formerly lived. The name of the author was suppressed, he believes, because of the feeling that a *woman* ought not to be given such prominence in the church.

To these conclusions a number of scholars of note have already given assent. Harnack starts out from the astonishing fact ("die erstaunliche Thatsache") that the name of the author of the "Epistle" was lost. "Astonishing" is, indeed, a mild term to use, under the circumstances. Here, by his theory, is a "letter" written by a beloved teacher and leader to a *Roman circle*, preserved and cherished in Rome and *first attested there* — and yet the name of the author was not known, or was successfully kept hidden, even in the very next generation after the sending of the letter !

Harnack lays due emphasis on the fact, previously set forth by Zahn and others, that the "Epistle" must have circulated anonymously in Rome during at least a part of the second century. He then proceeds (p. 24): "From this we must conclude, that the church which gave the letter currency — and that was the Roman church — sent it out as an anonymous writing; whether because they no longer knew the name of its author (though that is less probable), or because they purposely suppressed the name." ("Dann ergiebt sich aber, dass ihn die Gemeinde, die ihn verbreitet hat — und das war die römische — ohne Verfasseramen hat ausgehen lassen, sei es weil sie den Verfasseramen nicht mehr wusste [doch das ist weniger wahrscheinlich], sei es weil sie ihn absichtlich unterdrückte.")

At first hearing, this sounds like a tenable theory; but when it is examined more carefully, its weak points become apparent. The Roman church might, indeed, send out such a writing without address or name attached, with the result of causing it to circulate anonymously in Syria, Egypt, North Africa (possibly), and other more or less remote regions. This all may be granted; but when we come to consider the anonymous circulation *in Rome itself*, the immense difficulty of the theory is seen. Is it conceivable that the name of the well-known writer of this great "Epistle" should have been *lost* in Rome? Or, again, admitting for the sake of argument that there might have been strong objection to granting such ecclesiastical esteem to a woman, can we believe it possible that the truth as to the authorship can have been thus completely forced out of sight? A fine pastoral letter may circulate among many congregations, and be read and enjoyed for its universally helpful qualities; in strange circles, it makes little or no difference who wrote it; *but to the church originally addressed in it, the authorship is the one fact of supreme importance.* It is a personal message, not a general treatise, and this fundamental distinction cannot be ignored.

This very city, according to Harnack's theory, was the home of that circle of Christians to whom the letter was

originally sent. Here it was put into general circulation, and exercised a strong influence as early as 96 A.D. (quoted by Clement) ; here the writer herself had lived and worked, and occupied a leading position ; the little circle of believers had at first held its meetings in her own house ; and finally, she is mentioned by name, and with especial honor, in the Epistle of Paul to the Romans (16 3-5), to say nothing of the other mention which she receives in the Epistles and the Acts (Acts 18 2, 26, 1 Cor. 16 19, 2 Tim. 4 19).

Did Prisca have no friends in Rome ? Was the little company that met in her house (mentioned by Paul) unknown to the Roman church ? Were there no other women in that church ? Did none of these sisters in Christ, co-workers and fellow sufferers with Prisca, take any pride in this splendid composition of hers ? Or was it an easy matter, in those days, to make women hold their tongues, and forget ?

The theory of a strong and very widespread objection to the feminine authorship is not reasonable, in view of what we know. Even if we could suppose that a large part of the Roman church might have been made to see the matter in this way, we could be quite certain that not *all* would consent. And again, can any adequate reason be imagined why even a minority should have wished to expunge and forget Prisca's name ? While the authorship was still known, no one in Rome could ever have expected or wished this writing to be regarded as inspired Scripture.

Even if Harnack were entirely in the right with his perhaps too acute argument regarding the "Interpolator β " in Acts 18 (*ibid.* pp. 38 ff.), the utmost that is proved is this, that somebody, early in the second century, wished to make Prisca's name a little less conspicuous. That this purpose was not very seriously pursued, however, is obvious enough from the fact that there is not even *one* representative of the " β text" in which the name is consistently removed. If any animus is really apparent here, it is the animus of one disgruntled man, not that of a great church.

If it could ever have seemed to the church in Rome essential that the name of the woman co-author should be sup-

pressed, nothing could have been easier than to designate it simply as *the composition of Aquila*. Why not? Aquila, if his name had ever been heard of, anywhere, in connection with this "Epistle," might as well have been credited with it as Barnabas or Apollos. He holds one of the most honored places in the history of the early church. Harnack himself sets forth with sufficient emphasis the fact that his work had truly œcumenical significance (pp. 34 ff.). Paul, in the Epistle to the Romans, calls him his "fellow-worker in Christ Jesus," and the phrase was not merely complimentary. As Harnack says, "Prisca and Aquila are thereby given true official standing as evangelists and teachers." Calling the writing the "Epistle of Aquila" would have been a very easy way, and an honest way, of getting rid of the obnoxious feminine—if there had been an urgent and generally recognized reason for getting rid of it. Was not the husband the head, according to Paul?

If there had been, among those influential in the church at Rome, any attempt in this earliest period to establish the writing *as an epistle of Paul*, then we might see a reason for attempting to suppress and forget the names of both Aquila and Prisca. "For *attempting* to suppress," I say, since the success of the attempt is quite incredible, under the circumstances. But no such motive appears; on the contrary, as Zahn and Harnack (as well as others) have argued, this "Epistle" was truly anonymous for some time before the names of Barnabas and Paul were attached to it. And during this time it was in no sense a part of the "New Testament," in any quarter of the Christian world.

Thus Harnack's theory fails completely, I believe, at the most vital point.

To this brilliant, but unconvincing, argument of Harnack, Rendel Harris, in his *Side Lights on New Testament Research*, London, 1908, adds a characteristically acute appendix. Starting from a suggestion made by Harnack in a footnote (*loc. cit.*, p. 40, note 6), he argues from the eleventh chapter of the "Epistle" that the author "feminizes," and was therefore presumably a woman. I quote his words (p. 154):

"In a note at the end of his article on the Authorship of Hebrews, Harnack remarks that without laying too much stress on the observation, we ought not to neglect to notice that in the catalogue of Heroes of Faith in ch. xi, women are three times mentioned : in two of these references (*i.e.* Sarah and Rahab) the allusion is very far-fetched. The mention of Sarah with Abraham is an astonishment to the expositor, and still more the abrupt intrusion into the roll of heroes of the words, 'women received their dead raised to life again!' And it seems clear that a tendency is here betrayed of a desire to incorporate women also amongst the witnesses to faith, for which the Old Testament furnishes very imperfect material.

"The point raised is apparently a small one, as it is only raised in a note ; but it is a very important one, and demands closer and further investigation." Then, after brief mention of the difficulties created by the appearance of Sarah, Rahab, and the women of Shunem and Sarepta in the list, he continues (p. 156): "So the suggestion of 'feminization' in the Epistle remains, and the only question is whether it can be counterbalanced or rendered more striking. Does Hebrews xi feminize? that is the question."

Harris himself calls attention to the fact that the feminizing goes a singularly short distance, in view of the available material in the Old Testament. But he then goes on to argue, very skillfully—though, as it seems to me, not quite successfully—that Judith and Esther are also referred to in this chapter of great names and deeds. And he finally concludes (p. 174): "So there ought to be no hesitation in saying positively, what Harnack said doubtfully, that the eleventh chapter has feminized. And if this be correct, the case for the authorship of Priscilla is much strengthened by the removal of some of the strongest objections. We are still somewhat surprised at not finding a definite reference to Deborah, but what we have found is positive evidence, which silence on certain points hardly affects any further."

The case which he makes out can hardly be called a strong one, at its best. Such famous names as those of Deborah

and Hannah, to say nothing of others, are omitted altogether, while some of the allusions actually made are noticeably vague. Nevertheless, it may be urged with some plausibility both that women are given more space here than we should expect them to have, and also that the author of the writing "drags in" certain heroines of the old Hebrew faith where there seems to be no sufficient reason for their presence. Why parade Sarah and Rahab as shining examples?

We may easily grant this, and even admit the claim of Harnack and Rendel Harris that the writer "feminizes," and yet differ with them, *toto coelo*, as to the significance of the fact. Do only female writers feminize? Is the *argumentum ad feminam* used only by women? Do men who are addressing their mixed audiences never try to appeal especially to their hearers of the other sex? In these latter days, when the pews in church are chiefly occupied by women, this sort of literary procedure is quite familiar, and obviously justified. And it was always justified. We know, from the many sources of evidence preserved to us, that the primitive Christian congregations contained a large proportion of women, forming a very helpful and influential part—and, from what we know of the history of woman's religious faith, we should say the most steadfast part—of the believing community. Were they to be left out of account in such an exhortation as this?

It might even be urged that the writer here is shown to be a man by the very fact that these feminine examples are hung to the discourse by such a slender thread. The masculine writer believing—as men still complacently do—that his women hearers would not demand logic, but would be sufficiently captured by any superficial allusion, satisfied himself by mentioning the first names that came into his head. Neither Priscilla, nor any other woman writer, would ever have dealt thus, when the Old Testament really contains a very considerable number of worthy heroines. But this is hardly fair to our author. We do not know the circumstances under which he wrote, or what particular impression he might have wished to make on the women—very definite

ones, doubtless—who were in his mind or on his heart. At the present day, it very often happens that the allusion made by a preacher sounds far-fetched, or quite unnecessary, to the most of his congregation—who cannot know that the superfluous phrase was really a message delivered to, and understood by, a quiet woman in the front pew. We do not know, moreover, how certain illustrations were used at that time, and what impression they were calculated to make. “Look at the harlot, Rahab,” the preacher may have said. “Even such a woman was glorified by her faith, and accepted of God because of it; how much more the pure and noble saints, sisters in the faith of Christ, who hear my words!”

It may possibly be granted, then, that the author of our discourse “feminizes”; but this, if a fact, does not afford even the smallest probability that a woman was the author.

But Harris has another argument to bring forward; namely, that derived from a comparison of the list of heroes in Heb. 11 with the list in Ecclus. 44. Bar Sira, *a man*, admits no women into his catalogue of great names; the list in Hebrews does admit them; *ergo*, Hebrews was probably written by a woman. He says, p. 165, speaking of Bar Sira’s catalogue: “Now if we review this list, I think we shall see that here also the writer is turning the pages of his Bible, at least mentally, when he writes; the reference to the twelve prophets probably shows that he is working from a book. So he is doing just the same as the writer to the Hebrews is doing. And the curious thing is that he never mentions a woman at all in the whole of his story of Israel. This, then, is the way in which a man would write the historical summary; and the observation and the comparison with Hebrews strongly confirms Harnack’s suggestion that the latter writer has feminized. It is either a woman or a man under the influence of a woman.”¹

Leaving altogether out of account the great difference in the nature of the two compositions, and the fact that Ecclus. 44 begins with the words: “Let us now praise famous men,

¹ I should like to interject at this point the query, whether it is a common thing to find a man who is *not* more or less “under the influence of a woman.”

and our fathers that begat us," a sufficient reply to Harris's argument is found in Bar Sira's severe and superior attitude toward womankind in general. He sometimes says fine things about women, it is true, but in general they fare rather poorly in his hands, and a good many of his sayings regarding them are remarkably caustic. It was partly for this specific reason, judging from the published records, that the use of the Apocrypha was fought against, and virtually discontinued, in the English church at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Both women and men were tired of the reiteration, in the public reading of the Scriptures, of such verses as these: "As the climbing up a sandy way is to the feet of the aged, so is a wife full of words to a quiet man" (25 20); "Of woman came the beginning of sin, and through her we all die" (25 24); "All wickedness is but little to the wickedness of a woman" (25 19). It was felt that while one might endure (perhaps even with a degree of complacency) hearing such sentiments expressed occasionally, as witticisms, it became a very different matter when they were regularly read in church. It is not safe, then, to draw conclusions from the behavior of the son of Sirach. Indeed, some scholars have argued, from the tone of his proverbs, that he had had some unusual domestic infelicity.

Harris, with his usual candor, calls attention to one apparent objection to his own theory, namely, the masculine gender in the Greek of Heb. 11 32: Καὶ τί ἔτι λέγω; ἐπιλείψει με γὰρ διηγούμενον (masc.!) ὁ χρόνος κ.τ.λ. The gender of the participle here tells a perfectly plain story; the writer or speaker, whether actual or imagined, is a man, not a woman. There is no variation in the manuscripts at this point. Manuscripts are by no means infallible; and *if* the hypothesis of feminine authorship were otherwise justified, one might even think of emendation here. But on the contrary, the masculine ending bears out the conclusion derived from all other sources.

It would obviously do no good to Harnack and Harris to suppose that this participle in the masculine singular referred to *Aquila*, the husband of Prisca; for if he, as co-

author, could thus be given the precedence in the document itself, the whole argument as to the suppression of the name collapses at once! The "grammatical argument" is, then, as Harris (p. 174) feared it might be, a fatal one.

The conclusion reached, from all directions, seems to be this, that the hypothesis of Prisca's authorship of the document cannot be seriously entertained.

Secondly, the "Epistle to the Hebrews" is not at all an *epistle* in any legitimate use of the term.

Every one knows that the term "letter" or "epistle" covers a large variety of compositions. There is a wide distance between the private or merely personal communication and the extended document intended for circulation. In our own day it not infrequently happens that a scholar reviews an important publication by writing his criticism in the form of a letter addressed to its author; the letter being published and circulated as a pamphlet, or even as a thick book. In like manner, extended discussions of political, educational, or religious matters are occasionally given the epistolary form, when this seems to the author the most convenient or effective way of reaching his end. We have in the New Testament some fine specimens of this sort of letter, especially the longer epistles of Paul, in which the writer develops very elaborately, and more or less systematically, certain views which he wishes to have circulated and studied.

Deissmann, in his *Bibelstudien*, has recently set forth, possibly a little too laboriously, a distinction between the "letter" and the "epistle." It is perhaps hardly necessary, or desirable, to attempt to draw any such line. So far as Deissmann's conclusions are valid, they are substantially what every one has always known.² Almost any sort of material may be put into the form of a letter, it is true; but it is *not* true that a composition belonging to a definite literary class of its own, and obviously fashioned according to

² Deissmann's conclusion as to the "Epistle to the Hebrews" is very much like my own, however. See below.

the rules governing the structure of writings belonging to that class, can legitimately be turned into a letter or an "epistle," by simply prefixing an address, and appending conventional formulæ: "Wishing you the best of health, I am yours truly, So-and-So." This could not be done, for instance, with the Song of Songs; though this is in large part personal and intimate, and couched in the first person. Nor could it be done with 4 Maccabees, nor with Plato's address to the Athenians in the Menexenos, nor with any similar composition. In each of these cases, study shows that the work was originally constructed according to well-known literary rules, for the purpose of giving it the effect belonging to productions of its own definite class.

This is true, in eminent degree, of the so-called "Epistle to the Hebrews." It is (or rather was, in its original form) *an oration*, constructed most elaborately according to the Hellenistic canons of the orator's art. It is not only rhetorical in tone; it is also technically rhetorical in the details of its structure.³ From the first words of the high-sounding exordium on to very nearly the end of the book, we have only the carefully prepared address of a learned and gifted orator to his small and intimately known congregation.

It is only when the last chapter is reached that we see introduced, most incongruously, matter of another sort; namely, passages belonging of necessity to epistolary correspondence. Thus 13 18 f.: "Pray for us; for we are persuaded that we have a good conscience, desiring to live honestly in all things. And I exhort you the more exceedingly to do this, *that I may be restored to you the sooner.*" And vs. 22 ff.: "But I exhort you, brethren, bear with the word of exhortation; *for I have written unto you in few words. Know ye that our brother Timothy hath been set at liberty; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you. Salute all them that have the rule over you, and all the saints. They of Italy salute you.*" Moreover, in some other parts of this same thirteenth chapter, and especially at the very beginning of it, we see that the character

³ It is not necessary to argue this point here. The technical evidence has been set forth with sufficient fullness by German scholars. See below.

of the composition has undergone a striking change. Instead of the continuous logical sequence of thought, and the well planned rhetorical construction, we find a loose succession of exhortations, such as might well be heaped up at the end of a pastoral letter, but are most disturbing as appendages to a formal oration. The case is altogether different from that of Romans 16, or of 2 Corinthians 13, for example, because in those and all the similar cases an epistle has preceded. Personal messages and practical admonitions are as truly out of place, from the literary point of view, after Hebrews 1-12 as they would be at the close of Cicero's *Pro Lege Manilia* or Demosthenes' Oration on the Crown.

What has happened, then, is plainly this: a sermon has been transformed into an epistle by means of additions at or near the end. Another fact, equally evident, is that the "Epistle" claims to be the work of one of the great leaders of the church. Nor can it be doubtful who this leader is, when, in addition to the allusion to "our brother Timothy," we observe how *specifically Pauline words and phrases* appear in convincing number in these very passages which are out of keeping with the main discourse. The suspicion of at least a reminiscence of Paul arises at the outset, in the first section of this chapter 13, when we notice in vs. 5 the juxtaposition of ἀφιλάργυρος (cf. 1 Tim. 3 3) and ἀκούμενοι (cf. 1 Tim. 6 8), and this suspicion soon becomes certainty; for the Pauline words and phrases in the latter part of the chapter, see Wrede, *Das literarische Rätsel des Hebräerbriefs*, pp. 39-63.

These things, *when taken in connection with the facts above stated regarding the anonymity of the work*, leave (as it seems to me) only one conclusion possible. An anonymous sermon, or homily, which first came into general circulation in Rome, and was well known there (though its authorship was not known) in the latter part of the first century A.D., was transformed into an apostolical letter, presumably a letter of Paul, addressed to the Roman church. The alteration was effected by means of slight additions and insertions made in the closing portion, and its purpose was to gain for the work

the authority which it merited, but which it could be given in no other way.

Each one of the essential features of this general conclusion has already found its advocates, among New Testament scholars, and a few have arrived at a final result very similar to the one which I have stated. The literature is given quite fully in Wrede's pamphlet, just referred to, pp. 1-5. Berger, early in the nineteenth century, pronounced the "Epistle to the Hebrews" a homily, and argued that the closing passage 13 22-25 was a later addition by another hand. Other noted scholars agreed with Berger as to the character of the work; among them De Wette, who found the closing passage 13 18-25 especially disturbing after what had preceded. Overbeck (1880) thought the work an epistle, and yet believed 13 22-25 to have been added by a later hand for the purpose of making Paul appear to have been the author of the letter. Weizsäcker (1886) agreed with De Wette in thinking that the pseudo-ending began with 13 18. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, rightly insisted that the writing is not a letter in any sense; according to his view, it is a diatribe. On the technically rhetorical character of the work, see for example Holtzmann's *Hand-commentar* (Von Soden), p. 10, where the main divisions of the composition, corresponding to those of a formal oration in the Alexandrine style, are indicated: 1 1-4 13 προοίμιον πρὸς εὐνοίαν, 4 14-6 20 διήγησις πρὸς πιθανότητα, 7 1-10 18 ἀπόδειξις πρὸς πειθώ, 10 19-end ἐπίλογος. Wrede, *op. cit.*, 1906, believes that the work is a unit, but that its author changed his mind in the course of its composition. It was at first not intended as a letter; finally, however, its author not only gave it an epistolary ending, but deliberately made it appear to be a prison-letter of the Apostle Paul. And finally Perdelwitz, "Das literarische Problem des Hebräerbriefs," in the *Zeitschrift für die N. T. Wissenschaft*, 1910, 59-78, 105-123, maintains that our document was originally a sermon preached by some "Wanderprediger" to gentile Christians in Asia Minor; and that some one of its hearers made a copy of it, transformed it into a letter by adding the verses 13 22-25, and sent it to

Christian friends of his in Rome, for their comfort and edification.

Other scholars might also be mentioned, but those whom I have named are the principal representatives of the theories with which my own is most nearly concerned. I may add that my opinion as to the origin, composition, and history of the document is not one which I have recently formed, since I expressed it publicly, though not in writing, as long ago as 1898.

The all-important question is concerning the composition of chapter 13. That a part of the chapter is homogeneous with chapters 1-12, and originally formed a portion of the same writing, is so obvious as to need no argument. The passage 12 18-29 cannot possibly have formed the conclusion of the discourse; the thought requires to be continued, and the continuation is ready to hand. The vss. 13 1-7 are most disturbing, both because they interrupt the thought, and also because they mar the beauty of this stately composition. The transition from noble imagery and sustained reasoning to this formless jumble of rather commonplace admonitions is so abrupt as to be painful. But it is quite out of the question to suppose that chapter 13 *as a whole* is a later addition to chapters 1-12.

There is one passage, in the middle of the chapter, in which we know that we are once more face to face with the author of the whole discourse; namely, vss. 10-15. Here we find both his favorite ideas and the characteristic manner of setting them forth. Thus, the idea of the homelessness of the faithful ones reappears in vss. 13 f.: "Let us, therefore, go forth unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach. For we have not here an abiding city, but we seek after the city which is to come." Rendel Harris, in arguing for the authorship by Priscilla and Aquila, lays stress on the recurrence of this characteristic idea, and finds its source in the fact that the faithful pair had been driven from Rome by the edict of Claudius. He shows (pp. 157 f.) that chapter 11, especially in its first part, deals with wanderers from the home-land, patriarchs who went forth, leaders who were

driven from their cities, and spent their days in the tents of migration. They confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth. "So," he concludes, "we write against this chapter the words, 'An exile speaks.'" But I believe that the source of the writer's thought of exile lies deeper than any historical event, and that the idea is even more pervasive, and more touchingly conceived, than Harris supposes. We must look rather to the isolated, often outlawed, position of these primitive Christians. They were not of this world, but sought a better one. They had been disowned by their former friends, and even by their own flesh and blood, but a home was awaiting them.

Verses 10-15, then, certainly belong to the original discourse. But so also do vss. 8 and 9. It is plain, indeed, that in the passage 13 8-15 we have the immediate and necessary conclusion of the train of thought which is broken off at 12 29. In vss. 27 and 28 the preacher had been contrasting transitory things with the things which are enduring; just before this, in 24 ff., he had pointed to Jesus as the goal, and made mention of his blood of the new covenant; in vs. 28, finally, the idea of an unending service to God had been reached. In vss. 8-10 these threads are gathered and carried on in just the way which we should expect, and the discourse moves on, in its own lofty style, to the worthy conclusion in vs. 15.

Moreover, the doxology in vss. 20 and 21 belonged to the sermon in its original form, as probably no one would doubt. Verses 16-19, on the contrary, are a part of the later interpolation. The principal evidence of this may be seen in Wrede, pp. 47-62; and it is indeed obvious enough that vss. 16 and 17 came from the same source as 18 f., 22-25, and 1-7.

The false ending, be it noted, was not simply adjoined; it was *dovetailed* to the main document, and the work was skillfully done. Those of the ancient world who edited and expanded the works of others, knew that their task was a delicate one, and used enough ingenuity to accomplish their end satisfactorily. It was far more effectual to pull apart the closing paragraphs, here, and make insertions, than it could have been merely to plaster these "Pauline" exhor-

tations against the end of such an obviously rounded and finished oration as this one. If the attempt had been made in that way, it would probably have failed of its purpose from the very first. The interpolator is careful, too, to make his additions fit into their places; vs. 16 is well fitted to vs. 15, the transition from 7 to 8 is not an unnatural one, and in both 1-7 and 16-18 there are reminiscences of the preceding discourse; see Wrede, p. 69, Von Soden, *Hand-commentar*, p. 10.

Wrede, as I have already said, believes that the author of the work changed his mind. He began with a discourse (chaps. 1-12); then, altering his purpose, he began in chap. 13 to turn his composition into a letter; and finally, as he neared the end of this chapter, he decided to imitate an epistle of Paul. It seems to me a sufficient reply to this to say that the author of the "Epistle to the Hebrews" was not that sort of a man! The work of Perdelwitz, also mentioned above, is useful at many points, and affords a valuable supplement to that of Wrede; but its fatal weakness lies in its failure to take into account the unmistakably Pauline character of the additions. Wrede's work at this point cannot be set aside.

I believe, then, that the concluding portion of the discourse, as it was written by its author, read as follows:

12 27 *And this word, Yet once more, signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that have been made, that those things which are not shaken may remain.* 28 *Wherefore, receiving a kingdom that cannot be shaken, let us have grace whereby we may offer service well-pleasing to God with reverence and awe; 29 for our God is a consuming fire.*

13 8 *Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever!* 9 *Be not carried away by divers and strange teachings; for it is good that the heart be stablished by grace; not by meats, wherein they that occupied themselves were not profited.*⁴ 10 *We have*

⁴This verse 9 easily suggests certain Pauline admonitions, though it does not really contain any definite reminiscence of Paul (see also Wrede, pp. 67 f.), and it is possible that this fact first led some one to the idea of making the great apostle the manifest author of the document; that is, this one genuine verse may have served as the germ of the Pauline additions. The new material was added, naturally enough, at the end of each of the last three paragraphs; that is, after 12 29, 13 15, and 13 21.

an altar, whereof they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle. 11 For the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the holy place by the high priest as an offering for sin, are burned without the camp. 12 Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people through his own blood, suffered without the gate. 13 Let us therefore go forth unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach. 14 For we have not here an abiding city, but we seek after the city which is to come. 15 Through him then let us offer up a sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of lips which make confession to his name.

20 Now the God of peace, who brought again from the dead the great shepherd of the sheep, with the blood of the eternal covenant, even our Lord Jesus, 21 make you perfect in every good thing to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

This is a conclusion worthy of the oration, and in keeping with every other part of it. The evidence is quite sufficient, it seems to me, to show that this, exactly, was what the author himself wrote, bringing his epilogue to a truly satisfying conclusion, and following it with a benediction which shows us again, in a final flash, the greatness of his soul, and the depth of his affection for his hearers. The question of admitting, as original, any part of the heterogeneous material in chapter 13 ought not even to arise. A writing which is unquestionably the work of a master, and which gives constant evidence of the care which he had bestowed upon its construction, has the presumption in its favor at every point of possible doubt, when once the fact of interpolation has been recognized. Every verse which my hypothesis has excised is, in fact, condemned by its incongruity with the whole composition as well as by its pseudo-Pauline coloring.

The work as thus restored is one in which there is no spot or blemish. From beginning to end it is thoroughly harmonious, moving always in the same high plane of thought, and expressed in language of singular beauty. Von Soden (*Comm.*, p. 5) well says that its author was a man of epoch-

making greatness, the only one whom we know to have been fully equal to the task of bringing the Alexandrine theology into the service of Christianity. But he was also one whose work was given the highest literary finish. It is to be noticed how at the very end of his homily he strikes the same note with which he had begun it. In 14, at the end of the sonorous opening sentence, he presents his introductory thesis, affirming the "more excellent *name*" of the Anointed One. So in the last words of the concluding sentence of the whole discourse, 13 15, he returns to the thought of "confession to his *name*," the same confession (*ὁμολογία*) of which he had spoken in 3 1 4 14 and 10 23.

Whether our "Epistle to the Hebrews" was originally composed as a formal disputation (diatribe), or as a sermon for actual delivery, is a question which cannot be answered with certainty. I incline strongly to the latter view, however, both because of the markedly oratorical character of the whole, and also because of certain significant phrases, such as those in 9 5 and 11 32. The attitude of the author, as one actually standing before his audience (at least in his own imagination, as he writes), is especially evident in 11 32, the passage already cited as containing the masculine form of the participle. "*The time will fail me*," he says, "if I tell of Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah," and the rest. The writer of a diatribe has all the *time* that he wants; and his readers, if they find the discourse too long, can skip over whole chapters at their pleasure. But the preacher who is keeping one eye on the hands of the clock, or on the sand in the hour-glass, — who reads well the faces of his hearers, — knows what it means to have the time fail him. It is not a light matter.

I believe, then, that we have before us a Christian sermon of the first century; composed, it may be, while some of the apostles were yet alive; written to be delivered, and probably actually delivered. Some member of the preacher's congregation may have asked for a copy, and kept it for subsequent edification, as sometimes happens at the present

day. Or, the minister's own hand-copy may have been passed on through other hands, until it happened to be carried over the sea to Rome.

The nearest parallel to it which we have is the Jewish homily known to us as 4 Maccabees. This, also, is a very eloquent and carefully constructed composition of its kind, and a literary monument of the highest value. It has a style of its own which is widely different from that of its Christian counterpart, and was probably a diatribe rather than a discourse to be delivered. Both have this especially in common, that they were composed by learned and devout leaders of their people who were masters of the rhetorical art and of the Greek tongue.

In each of the two cases, moreover, we are given a fair glimpse not only of the orator but also of his congregation. The discourse is suited to the intellectual and spiritual plane of its hearers, and this was in either respect a very high plane.

At some time in the latter part of the first century, the magnificent sermon was brought to Rome, by some one of the many Christian emigrants or travelers. Where it had originally been delivered it is idle to guess; perhaps in Alexandria, at any rate in some one of the more considerable Greek cities. It was read, and learned by heart, and wept over; we can certainly not adequately imagine, at this day, what a hold the beautiful discourse must soon have gained among these earliest believers—strangers and pilgrims on earth—who had so few such writings to direct and comfort them.

When at last the dearest books of the church began to be put together, and the need was felt of setting apart the few which could be claimed as divinely inspired in an especial sense, it was felt in Rome that no one of the oldest Christian writings bore more plainly the stamp of divine authority than this precious document. It had for some time been anonymous, but must it not have been the work of one of the inspired apostles?

Gospels and Epistles were the two first-ranking divisions

of the Christian Sacred Scripture—the New Testament; the belief arose most naturally, almost of necessity, that this was originally an epistle, written to the church in Rome (where it was first made known) by the greatest of all epistle writers, Paul. This must have seemed quite plausible (for difficulties with the literary style would have had no great influence); and when the theory had once arisen, its value to the church must immediately have become apparent, for *only* as an apostolical epistle could this document be maintained in its proper place of authority. In Rome, it might possibly have been left just as it stood, without addition; but never in the other parts of the Christian world, where it had not been thus inherited from the very first years of the Christian community.

So a few sentences were added, or inserted, with the purpose of making clear the origin of the writing. It is remarkable with what reserve these additions were made. No address was prefixed; the name of Paul was not introduced; evidently it was felt that in the lack of absolute certainty that he was the author, it was better to be as cautious as possible. But the few personal words of the addition leave no room for doubt that an apostle sent this as a letter, and they aim to make it at least extremely probable that he was the Apostle Paul.

Whether the addition was made in Rome, and by a member of the Roman church, is a question which cannot be answered with certainty. The probability inclines very strongly that way, however. In that case, it is sure that the thing was done by some one man, or small group of men; for *the Roman church* continued to insist on the anonymity of the "Epistle," even long after the Pauline authorship was accepted everywhere else. The document in its expanded form was perfectly well known in Rome, and probably known there earlier than in any other place; but the old tradition of the unknown authorship persisted.

The time when the addition was made can hardly have been later than the middle of the second century, and it may have been considerably earlier than that date.

Harnack may be right in regard to the superscription "The Epistle *to the Hebrews*," in thinking that it was chosen simply because of the all-pervasive and very striking use of the Old Testament Scriptures, from the beginning of the composition to its end. It is, at all events, likely that the title, *πρὸς Ἑβραίους*, "To Hebrews," was prefixed to the writing at a very early date, and before the epistolary additions at the end were made.

First Clement Called Forth by Hebrews

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IT is a familiar fact that Hebrews is first reflected in the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, usually called 1 Clement. A comparison of Heb. 1 with 1 Clement 36 is enough to establish the use of Hebrews by Clement, but this is only the beginning of the evidence, for Bacon reports that in forty-seven places Clement made use of Hebrews. 1 Clement was written at Rome, and it is of no small significance for the criticism of Hebrews that it is first reflected in a document of Roman origin. It is this, among other things, that for most critics compels the conclusion that Hebrews was written to a Roman congregation, if not to the whole Roman church. Whichever of these views be accepted, it was by a writer, and probably from a congregation, familiar with Hebrews that 1 Clement was written.

It is more and more generally held, too, that Hebrews was written toward the close of the first century, probably at the very time when the caprice and malignity of Domitian were including Roman Christians among their objects, that is, between 90 and 96 A.D. It is, in fact, precisely the fact of its use in 1 Clement that supplies a latest possible date for Hebrews: it cannot have been written later than the close of Domitian's reign (A.D. 96), because it is a well attested fact that 1 Clement was written in Domitian's last years. Both reflect a time of persecution and peril. The two documents are thus closely connected in time as well as place.

The writer to the Hebrews finds one chief fault with his Roman readers. They ought, by reason of age and opportunity, to be teachers and leaders, but as a matter of fact they are so backward and infantile that they are hardly ready

themselves for advanced instruction. He finds much that is good in them: heroism, hospitality, liberal helpfulness, noble traits of the earliest Roman church of which Acts and Tacitus give evidence. But they have been slow to undertake that service of Christian instruction and direction which their position and advantages demanded of them. "When ye ought by reason of the time to be teachers, ye have need of instruction." Whether the leadership he calls for is of the Roman church alone, or of the larger Christian body, does not greatly concern us here.

No long time after the receipt of this stern rebuke and challenge, the Roman church through its chief presbyter, Clement, writes to Corinth. The Corinthians are in the midst of a church quarrel, the rank and file being arrayed against the officers of the church. The Roman brethren have learned of this, and seek in the most fraternal way to act as peacemakers. The experiences of Old Testament heroes and of Christian apostles and the analogy of the ordered course of nature are cited in proof of the universal law of harmony. There is nothing to suggest that the Roman church has been appealed to by the Corinthians; the epistle seems rather to be an unsolicited contribution. The Roman church feels a certain responsibility for the sister church at Corinth, and, in a fraternal spirit, transmits a weighty message of advice and instruction for its use. Ignatius a few years after could say to the Romans, "Ye have taught others" (*ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε*, Rom. 3 1).

In short, the Roman church is here doing the thing that the writer to the Hebrews had so recently been urging it, or a part of it, to do. They are no longer merely entertaining the strangers, ministering to the saints, enduring with heroism the spoiling of their goods, and showing compassion to them that are in bonds; they have added that very grace of teaching and leading, for the lack of which they had just been so sternly rebuked. Are we to refer this to mere chance coincidence? It is difficult to avoid the conviction that this sudden emergence of the Roman church as counsellor and adviser to distant churches is the result of the

stern rebuke of Hebrews.¹ Even if what had been asked was only leadership of the Roman church, the task once undertaken would have led to the wider one; but it is in every way more probable that it was the wider function that was from the first intended.

Such a view at once relieves the difficulty of the opening sentence, which is so strangely apologetic. "Owing to the sudden and repeated calamities and reverses which have befallen us, brethren, we consider that we have been somewhat slow (*βράδιον*) to pay attention to the questions of dispute among you." This apology is not called for by any expectation on the part of the Corinthians that the Roman church would write; their surprise must have been, not that it had not written sooner, but that it wrote at all. But if the Romans are just awaking, under the stimulus of Hebrews, to a new responsibility, and beginning to think what Christian duty of teaching they have, and the Corinthian situation of which they have known for some time comes to their minds, it is not difficult to understand this opening sentence. As they now see, the mere fact of such a situation at Corinth was in itself a call to them to help with instruction and advice.

That 1 Clement is so permeated with the literary influence of Hebrews becomes on this view of their relation more than ever natural and necessary. Something more than mere recentness is necessary to explain the great mass of reminiscence of Hebrews in 1 Clement, especially in Rome, where for nearly three centuries thereafter Hebrews is little noticed. But if Hebrews has just been received, and 1 Clement is written under the spur of its challenge, this frequent reflection of its language and method is only natural.

1 Clement is no inconsiderable work. Did it require an elaborate treatise as long as the Gospel of Mark to inform the Corinthians that it was their duty to live in harmony? Or is it that the Roman church assumes its new function in great seriousness and makes a genuine effort of this first

¹ This view was proposed by the present writer in his *Epistle to the Hebrews* (1908), p. 23, but without detailed evidence.

essay as teacher of churches? I suggest that alike the source, the date, the tone, the purpose, and the bulk of 1 Clement accord remarkably with the view that it was the response of the Roman church to the stirring call of Hebrews to Christian teachership and leadership.

It would surely be artificial to require that the influence of early New Testament writings be sought only within the New Testament itself. Early Christian literature, canonical and uncanonical, was part of one great movement, and its documents may fairly be expected, sometimes at least, to show close connection. Hebrews was one of the most notable of these, and it would be strange if it had produced no traceable effect upon a church of which we know so much, relatively at least, in its day. May we not believe that in 1 Clement we have the literary first fruits of the stirring call of Hebrews to the Roman Christians?

Bardaisan and the Odes of Solomon¹

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THE newly discovered Odes of Solomon present to the student of early Christian literature problems as fascinating as they are difficult. The author is a poet, and a poet of no mean order, but he is much more than that—he feels himself inspired by the Spirit of the Lord and illumined by His light; the resources of language, even when strained to the utmost limits of poetic license, are inadequate to express the richness of that new life which has transfigured his inner self and filled him with the joy and peace that pass all understanding. Yet when one endeavors to see the worlds of matter and of spirit as the singer saw them² and to grasp his conception of their mutual relations, in brief, to reconstruct his philosophy and to determine his age, his environment, and the school of thought to which he belonged, one encounters peculiar difficulties. He is as much at home in the Psalms and Wisdom-literature as any Jew, and yet is not in sympathy with the more distinctive tenets of Judaism. He acknowledges no circumcision save that of the heart (xi. 1-2), no sacrifice save that of “God’s thought,” of “righteousness and purity of thought and lips” (xx. 1-7), no peculiar people, for his sympathies are as broad as humanity (vi. 7-17; xiv. 14-29). He is a Christian, familiar with the leading events of Christ’s life—the miraculous birth (xix. 6-10), the baptism (xxiv. 1-3), crucifixion and descent

¹ I desire to acknowledge to the editors my obligations for their kind revision of the proofs during my absence from the country, and in particular Professor Montgomery’s revision of my translations from the Syriac.

² The author’s general point of view has been characterized by many; perhaps the best is that of Gunkel, *ZNTW*, xi. 1910, p. 320.

into Hades (xlii. 1-26 *et al.*), yet he absolutely ignores many of the most characteristic doctrines and practices of Christianity. He makes no explicit allusion to the resurrection or ascension of Christ's material body, or to baptism, or the eucharist. He knows of sin and evil as facts (xxxiii. 8; xxxviii. 12 ff. *et al.*), but they seem to lie outside the range of his own present concern; even his conception of redemption seems unconnected with the crucifixion. Moreover, amidst the profusion of poetic and allegorical images in which he expresses his ideas, there are some which one can scarcely regard as merely poetic and allegorical and which fit but ill into the traditional system of Christian theology. The "worlds" (xii. 4 *et al.*), the "garment of light" (xi. 10; xxi. 2), the "perfect virgin" (xxiii. 5), the "abysses" (xxiv. 3; xxxi. 1), — these, and perhaps others, are somewhat more than hints that the author's view of the universe is not that of the orthodox Christian theologian.

The theories proposed to account for this puzzling complex belong to three leading types. The representatives of the first type, led by Rendel Harris, the distinguished discoverer and first editor of the Odes, regard them as belonging to a period when the new life which was stirring men's hearts had not as yet moulded their thoughts after its own image nor found words adequate to its expression, when Christian theology was as yet in the making and clear formulations had no existence, in brief, to the period, approximately, of the New Testament itself.

A second group, led by Harnack, cannot believe that conceptions so disparate as are found in the Odes could ever have coexisted as the elements of the world-view of any single mind. They believe them, therefore, to be a composite product, the original Odes being the work of a Jew of unusually catholic sympathies, into whose text a Christian hand has incorporated a few of the more essential elements of Christianity. But Harnack also refers the Odes in their present form to a very early period — about the end of the first century of our era.

A third group of students regard them as giving imperfect

expression to some peculiar system of Christian theology, accepted by some minor sect, probably of the second century, and endeavor to identify the sect in question with some one of those mentioned by the church historians. But upon this point no agreement has as yet been reached. Gunkel thinks them Gnostic, and Preuschen has announced³ that he will endeavor to prove them a part of the Valentinian Psalm-book; Batiffol⁴ regards them as representing a docetic tendency, perhaps a forerunner of the great Christian Gnostic movement of the second century and akin to that combated by Ignatius. But Conybeare⁵ and Fries⁶ would have them Montanist.

In my opinion the weight of evidence is distinctly in favor of the third point of view. While the considerations urged by Gunkel and Batiffol are not all of equal force and it is not probable that all will stand the test of further criticism, the main thesis for which they contend seems to me established — that the Odes unmistakably reveal the influence of Gnostic speculation. Yet the evidence falls far short of proving them Gnostic, for many of the leading characteristics of Gnosticism, as of Judaism and of Christianity, are conspicuous by their absence. The system of æons, for example, upon the elaboration of which with every detail suggested by pagan mythology or a perfervid imagination the Gnostic thinkers so loved to dwell, is represented in the Odes by nothing but the "worlds," and of them so little is said that it is impossible to determine at first glance what the author meant by them. Again, the Gnostic was essentially an exclusive faith. It drew a sharp line of demarcation between the true Gnostic, or, as the Valentinians called him, the "pneumatic" man, and the common herd, whether Christian or not. In the Odes the "elect" (viii. 21; xxiii. 1-3 *et al.*) might be regarded as representing the pneumatic man, but their relation to the mass of men is conceived in a very different and more catholic spirit, for the poet looks forward to the time when all mankind will be numbered among the saved (iii. 12;

³ *ZNTW*, xi. 1910, p. 328, n. 3.

⁴ *Rev. Bibl.*, NS, viii. part 2 (1911).

⁵ *ZNTW*, xii. 1911, pp. 70-76.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 108.

vi. *passim*; vii. 22 ff.). The argument from silence is, it is true, dangerous; one does not turn to a hymnal for a system of theology. But one does expect a hymn writer, if he be not wholly devoid of the poetic gift, to employ those elements of his theological system which lend themselves most readily to poetic treatment, and such, in a preëminent degree, was the stupendous drama of the Valentinian theology. Nor could the true Gnostic, who believed himself divine and regarded all other men as akin either to animals or dead matter, speak of the time when "Nothing that breathes shall be without knowledge, nor shall anything be dumb."⁷

As the author, then, of the Odes we must postulate a man who, while not in the technical sense a Gnostic, was thoroughly familiar with Gnosticism and had borrowed from it much of his imagery and some of his doctrines. He must also have been a man who knew the life of the spirit by immediate personal experience, a man whose heart was full of love for God and his fellowman, a man of deep sympathies, of broad vision, of marked originality. And he was also a gifted poet.

Such a man, so far as our information enables us to judge, was Bardaisan of Edessa.⁸

I cannot better express my own impression of the relation between Bardaisan and the Gnostics than by translating a passage from Haase's recent monograph.⁹

No one who reflects that Bardaisan's youth fell in a period in which Gnosticism was at its height, and that he lived in a land the peculiarity of whose culture made it the mother soil of Gnosticism, will deny that Bardaisan, receptive as he was to all sciences and sensitive to all intellectual influences, must, at least, have been acquainted with the doctrines of the Syrian Gnostics also. One should not forget that it was the most enlightened minds that found something infectious in Gnosticism, the aim of which was essentially nothing other than a solution of the "World-riddle" with the

⁷ vii. 27. See the text, p. 178, note 41. Knowledge probably means gnosis.

⁸ Born A.D. 154; died 222.

⁹ Felix Haase, "Zur Bardesanischen Gnosis," *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1910, p. 88.

aid of all that the heathen sciences and Christianity had achieved. It cannot indeed be determined at what period of his life Bardaisan had belonged to a Gnostic sect. But if we find in his doctrines passages that unquestionably have a Gnostic ring, we will not, in the age of Gnosticism, make the explanation unnecessarily difficult, but will simply assume Gnostic influence. I therefore regard as natural and credible, at least so far as its second part is concerned, Eusebius' assertion that Bardaisan was at first a disciple of Valentinian, then was converted to the true faith without altogether giving up his old heresy.¹⁰ Bardaisan's keen intellect must have recognized the weak points in the Valentinian or [other] Gnostic system, and he therefore worked out a peculiar doctrine of his own, based upon his own philosophical, theological, and astronomical knowledge. It will remain a hopeless task to pick out, in this doctrine, the "Gnostic" elements; in so far, Nau and Hort are quite right in protesting against reckoning Bardaisan among the Gnostics in the usual sense. One will scarcely find a name that adequately and accurately expresses his teaching; it is enough to maintain that astronomy in particular, and Gnostic influence, laid the foundation of his peculiar doctrine. Bardaisan is, and remains, a heretic, and his *formal* classification with the Gnostics by ancient and modern historians does him no wrong.

To Bardaisan's intellectual ability all our authorities bear witness. Eusebius describes him as "a most able man and a skillful disputant in the Syriac language, who composed and committed to writing in his own tongue, dialogues against the followers of Marcion and certain other representatives of diverse doctrines, besides many other works, which his pupils — of whom he had many, for he was a doughty defender of his doctrine — translated from Syriac into Greek."¹¹ Epiphanius describes him as "one of the finest

¹⁰ Euseb., *HE*, iv. 30, *ap.* Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchr. Lit.*, i. 1, p. 185: ἦν δ' ἄρα οὗτος πρότερον τῆς κατὰ Οὐαλεντίνον σχολῆς, καταγνοὺς δὲ ταύτης, πλείστα τε τῆς κατὰ τοῦτον μεθοποιίας ἀπελέγξας, ἐδόκει μὲν πως αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρθοτέραν γνώμην μετατεθεῖσθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ παντελῶς γε ἀπερρύψατο τὸν τῆς παλαιᾶς αἵρέσεως ῥύπον.

¹¹ *Id.* *ibid.*: Βαρδесаῖνης Ικανώτατός τις ἀνὴρ ἦν τε τῇ Σύρων φωνῇ διαλεκτικώτατος, πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα καὶ τινὰς ἑτέρους διαφόρων προΐσταμένους δογμάτων διαλβόους συστησάμενος, τῇ ἰδίᾳ παρέδωκε γλώττῃ τε καὶ γραφῇ, μετὰ καὶ πλείστων ἑτέρων αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων· οὓς οἱ γνώριμοι. — πλείστοι δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῷ δυνατῶς τῷ λόγῳ παρισταμένῳ — ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς Σύρων μεταβέβληκας φωνῆς.

who chose not wholesome food.¹⁷ He wished to make David his model; that he might be adorned with his beauty and praised for his likeness, he, too, composed 150 songs. His [*i.e.*, David's] truth he deserted, my brethren, and imitated his number [only].

But it must be borne in mind that Ephraem is writing about 150 years after Bardaisan's death. There is reason to believe that in the interval Bardaisan's doctrines had been modified by the influence of Manichæism and probably by other influences as well. It is also more than probable that the hymns in use among the Bardaisanites were not of his composition. Sozomen explicitly asserts that Harmonius, Bardaisan's son, "having had a Greek education, was the first to adapt his mother tongue to meters and musical rules," and indeed, if I understand aright the following sentence, he expressly implies that Bardaisan's poems were set to the lyre by Harmonius and not by Bardaisan himself.¹⁸

These varying accounts are easily reconciled. It is probable that in the Syriac, as in other Christian churches, the canonical Psalms had been used in public worship from the

¹⁷ Duval (*loc. cit.*), "Les malades n'eurent point le choix d'un remède salutaire."

¹⁸ Sozomen, *HE*, iii. 16, *ap.* Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 187: Οὐκ ἄγνοῶ δέ, ὡς καὶ πάλαι ἐλλογιμώτατοι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον παρὰ Ὀσροηνοῖς ἐγένοντο, Βαρδησιάνης τε, δὲ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ καλουμένην αἵρῃσιν συνεστήσατο, καὶ Ἀρμόνιος ὁ Βαρδησιάνου παῖς, ὃν φασὶ διὰ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι λόγων ἀχθέντα πρῶτον μέτροις καὶ νόμοις μουσικοῖς τὴν πάτριον φωνὴν ὑπαγαγεῖν καὶ χοροῖς παραδοῦναι, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν πολλάκις οἱ Σύροι ψάλλουσιν, οὐ τοῖς Ἀρμονίου συγγράμμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μέλεσι χρώμενοι. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐ παντάπασιν ἐκτὸς ἦν τῆς πατρῴας αἰρέσεως, καὶ ὧν περὶ ψυχῆς, γενέσεώς τε καὶ φθορᾶς σώματος καὶ παλιγγενεσίας οἱ παρ' Ἑλλήσι φιλοσοφούντες δοξάζουσιν, οἳα γὰρ ὑπὸ λύραν ἃ συνεγράψατο συνθεῖς, ταυτασὶ τὰς δόξας τοῖς οἰκείοις προσέμιξε γράμμασιν.

"Since he [Harmonius] was not entirely outside the limits of his father's sect and the views entertained by the Greek philosophers regarding the soul, the birth and dissolution of the body and transmigration, seeing that he set to the lyre what he [Bardaisan] had composed, he commingled these views with his own compositions," *i.e.* with the view expressed in his own compositions. The circumstantial character of this account gives it claim to credence. — Theodore (Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 187) also states that Harmonius, as well as Bardaisan, wrote much in Syriac, but does not distinguish his work from that of his father.

earliest times. Whether other psalms and hymns were used along with those "of David" in the other churches is a question into which I need not enter; it is at any rate certain that their introduction into the church at Edessa was ascribed by Ephraem to Bardaisan, and there is every reason to accept his evidence. It is probable on the face of it that Bardaisan, in his earliest efforts to produce hymns acceptable to his congregation, would endeavor closely to imitate the Psalms with which they were already familiar. Just such imitations the "Odes of Solomon" unquestionably are. It may be that Bardaisan was also the first to write hymns in meter similar to those Syriac hymns with which we are familiar, but, in view of Sozomen's evidence, it is more probable that the Bardaisanite hymns in meter known to Ephraem were the work of Harmonius and other writers. Ephraem, who was engaged in a fierce warfare with the Bardaisanite heretics, probably had not the ability and certainly had no desire to distinguish in the mass of heretical psalms and hymns the compositions of Bardaisan from those of his successors, and so ascribes them all indiscriminately to him.

There are also several allusions in the Odes, which, while wholly insufficient of themselves to prove authorship, harmonize singularly well with the little we know of Bardaisan's life and activity. Bardaisan had been converted from Gnosticism to Christianity. The poet says "the way of error I have left" (xv. 6), "I was delivered from vanity" (xvii. 2); the whole of Ode xxxviii. celebrates his deliverance from a form of error portrayed by a "bridegroom who corrupts and is corrupted," and a "bride who is corrupted," and is "adorned," who "lead astray and corrupt the whole world, and invite many to the banquet, and give them to drink of the wine of their intoxication so that they may vomit up their wisdom and knowledge," and so on. This reads like a condensed abstract of the account given by Epiphanius of his own experiences when young among the "Gnostics" of Egypt (*Hær.* xxvi. 4), and there is no doubt that such practices were widespread among many Gnostic sects. There is no reason to charge the Valentinians with

them, but it is quite possible that the poet, like Epiphanius, had as a youth just escaped the temptations of some such sect.

We are told that Bardaisan came very near suffering martyrdom. "He withstood Apollonius, Antoninus' friend, when exhorted by him to deny that he called himself a Christian, and was almost appointed to the order of confessors, and replied in clever speeches, manfully defending [the true] religion, and declaring that he had no fear of death, for it must necessarily ensue even if he did not disobey the Emperor."¹⁹ There are several Odes which intimate that the speaker has suffered persecution, *e.g.* v., xxv., xxviii., xxix., xxxv., but it is not always possible to distinguish between what he says in his own person and what he says in the person of Christ. Other Odes, *e.g.* viii. 7; ix. 6, suggest that the persons for whom he writes are not unacquainted with persecution, which would be appropriate to the age of the Antonines, but the suggestions are too vague to be of value. The same must be said of the allusion in xx. 1, "I am a priest of the Lord," etc. It would fit in very well with the recorded statement that Bardaisan had been ordained deacon,²⁰ but the context in Ode xx. rather suggests spiritual than ecclesiastical priesthood. Of more weight is the general impression conveyed by the Odes as to the author's relation to his readers. His "work is the Psalm of the Lord" (xvi. 2), and his addresses to his readers intimate that he anticipates something more than a hearing. One can readily imagine that Odes so beautiful as these, and bearing such clear evidence of deep and sincere religious feeling, might have served to draw a band of devoted followers about their gifted author.

Bardaisan believed himself to be orthodox, and wrote against the heretics, Marcion and others. The much discussed opening verses of the 4th Ode — "No man, O my

¹⁹ Epiphanius, *Hær.* 56, *ap. Harnack, op. cit.*, p. 186: 'Απολλωνίῳ δὲ τῷ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ἐταίρῳ ἀντὶ τοῦ παραινούμενος ἀρνήσασθαι τὸ Χριστιανὸν ἑαυτὸν λέγειν. ὁ δὲ σχεδὸν ἐν τάξει ὁμολογίας κατέστη, λόγους τε συνετοὺς ἀπεκρίνατο, ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀνδρείως ἀπολογούμενος, θάνατον μὴ δεδιέναι φήσας, δὲ ἀνάγκη ἔσσεσθαι, καθ' ὅσον βασιλεὺς μὴ ἀντεῖποι.

²⁰ Nau, *Le livre des lois des pays*, p. 10.

God, changeth thy holy place, and it is not possible that he should change it and put it in another place, because he hath no power over it, for thy sanctuary thou hast designed before thou didst make other places"—in which Conybeare sees Montanism, are much more easily explained as an attack upon the Montanist claim that the holy place, the true Jerusalem which came down from heaven, was to be found at Pepuza in Phrygia.²¹

It appears then that the little we know of Bardaisan's life and activities, and in particular of his relation to the development of Syriac hymnology, distinctly favors the hypothesis that he might have written the Odes of Solomon. But two objections present themselves, the language of the Odes and their title.

Bardaisan is supposed to have written in Syriac, and the Odes are supposed to be translations from a Greek original. But neither of these suppositions is as yet beyond question. Bardaisan was certainly able to write Greek; Epiphanius, indeed, as I have shown, describes him as "eloquent both in Syriac and Greek." It is, moreover, possible that in the last quarter of the second century Greek was a privileged tongue in the church of Edessa, much as it was in the Roman church a little earlier. If Hermas could make his revelation in Greek to the Latin-speaking Roman Christians, surely Bardaisan might have used Greek in Syria, which had been in large measure bilingual for centuries. On the other hand, it is not yet proved that the Odes were first written in Greek. The occurrence of Greek words in the Coptic version proves, of course, no more than that the author of the *Pistis Sophia* was working from a Greek text—not that the text was the original. The words and phrases of the Syriac text upon which Schulthess, Gunkel, and others base their opinion are indeed suggestive, and raise a presumption in favor of the theory that the original was Greek, but they are not sufficient to put the question beyond doubt.²²

The fact that these Odes, even about the middle of the

²¹ Epiphanius, *Hær.* ii. 48. 14; 49. 1. (Dind., ii. 442, 16; 444, 21.)

²² I am inclined to believe that the original was Greek.

second century, probably not fifty years after Bardaisan's death, already bore the name of Solomon, were regarded as canonical and used as such by the author of *Pistis Sophia*, has been very generally accepted as proof that they must have originated at least a hundred years earlier. The argument, of course, presupposes good faith on the part of the author of *Pistis Sophia*—he was deceived by the fact that the poems had been long current, he found them in his copy of the Bible, and so on. I can see no force in such considerations. The Gnostic group from which the *Pistis Sophia* emanated, and, indeed, many early sects, forged works in support of their peculiar tenets with the utmost freedom. Moreover, the fact that such works met with easy acceptance proves that the members of these sects were as uncritical as their leaders were unscrupulous. The men who forged books wholesale certainly would not have hesitated, if a stray copy of the Odes fell into their hands and seemed to them capable of being used to support their doctrine, to attach to it the name of Solomon, and there would have been little likelihood that the fraud ever would be detected.

I shall find it necessary to give a fairly complete outline of the "Book of the Laws of the Countries," in order to prepare the way for the interpretation of the Odes. This book contains the only fairly trustworthy evidence as to the views of Bardaisan himself. It was first published by Cureton in 1847, and again, with an English translation, in his "*Spicilegium Syriacum*," in 1855.²³ The book professes to be a record

²³ Besides Cureton's second edition, I have used that of Nau, *Le livre des lois des pays*, Paris, 1899, and Merx's translation (in *Bardesan von Edessa*, Halle, 1863). Haase (*op. cit.*, pp. 44 sqq.), after a minute comparison of the "Book of the Laws" with the quotations in Eusebius and the Recognitions, concludes that Bardaisan wrote in Greek a dialogue "Against Destiny," which was translated by his pupils into Syriac. From this Syriac version the existing "Book of the Laws" is derived. The Syriac was then again translated into Greek; from the latter version Eusebius' quotations and those of the Recognitions are derived. Bardaisan's original work did not contain the doctrine of planetary influence ascribed to him by the "Book of the Laws." Lack of space prevents me from entering into my reasons for dissenting from this latter conclusion. [N.B. the discussion for and against a Greek original by Schulthess and Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, 1910, pp. 91, 555. Ed.]

made apparently by a certain Philip, of a dialogue held between Bardaisan and his disciple Avida, upon the problems of Destiny and Free-will. It puts into Bardaisan's mouth a theory of marked originality. He accepts the fundamental principles of astrology, but dissents from that form of the doctrine of Destiny or Fate which was so generally associated with it. Man is ruled by three independent principles: Free-will, Nature, and Destiny. Free-will he shares with God and with the angels. "Nature" is the organic principle which governs the development and nutrition of his body. "Destiny" is the influence exerted upon the entire material world, upon man's body as a part of that world, and also upon his soul, by the constellations and planets.²⁴ These three principles, being independent, may and frequently do clash, whence arise in the world discord and confusion, sickness and sin. But in time, the "great and holy will of God" will put an end to the discord, and introduce a reign of peace and love.

Even granting that the Book of the Laws fairly represents Bardaisan's views, and that he was the author of the Odes, it is obviously unreasonable to anticipate any considerable degree of coincidence between them. Their themes are as unlike as possible. The Book of the Laws is a discussion, in a severely scientific and objective spirit, of the ultimate laws that govern the universe; the Odes are devotional poems of a most intimately personal character. It is only by accident that the two works occasionally touch upon the same topics. Furthermore, the Book of the Laws does not even profess to be from the hand of Bardaisan himself. It is at best based upon one of his works, and it is quite possible, as Haase thinks, that the connection is not immediate.

²⁴ The theory is obviously eclectic, and confirms the statements of the church historians as to Bardaisan's acquaintance with Greek. The conception of "Nature" (طبیعه) is unmistakably the Aristotelian φύσις. The conception had become a commonplace of Greek philosophy long before Bardaisan's day, but the word which Bardaisan uses (= φύσις) possibly points to acquaintance with Peripatetic sources, as Stoic writers were more disposed to use Stoic terms (λόγος, ἔξις, πνεῦμα).

The number of coincidences that do occur, in phraseology and sequence of ideas, is suggestive, but in default of any evidence to show whether these traits were personal peculiarities of Bardaisan's, or were common in Syriac literature of his age, their value as evidence is not great.

The real significance of the Book of the Laws is this: In the first place, it gives a fairly definite impression of certain traits of Bardaisan's character, and these traits are in striking accord with the character revealed in the Odes. Indeed, it was this that first led me to think of Bardaisan as their possible author. In the second place, the theories of the Book of the Laws, supplemented by information afforded by Ephraem and other writers, offer a very satisfactory interpretation of several difficult Odes.

I have already referred to the singularity of the poet's attitude towards sin and evil. While he is of course aware of its existence, he seems to have no present personal concern with it. Nearly all the Odes are full of joy and thankfulness; his whole nature seems to turn as naturally towards love, goodness, God, as the needle to the pole. Bardaisan regards man as imbued with a natural inclination towards good; good properly belongs to him, and in doing good—which he conceives is, primarily, to “love, bless, to speak the truth, and to pray for that which is good for every one whom he knows”—man finds joy. Bardaisan's conception is very different, indeed, from the notion so prevalent in all Christian ages, that man is naturally inclined to sin; nor could it, I think, have been based in the first instance upon observation of what men actually do. It is, rather, an expression of Bardaisan's own character, and the affinity to that of the poet is manifest. This similarity of character does not, of course, prove that the writers are identical, but it is one of the minor threads in the web of evidence which I am endeavoring to weave.

It is impossible, in a brief article, to quote from the Odes at such length as to give an adequate impression of the author's personality—that can be gained only by thorough familiarity with the Odes themselves. I give here, however,

And he began to say to us: There are many men who have not faith, and have not received knowledge from the wisdom of the truth. And on this account they are not competent to discuss and to draw conclusions.³¹ For they have not the foundation of faith to build upon, and they have no confidence upon which they may hope.³² . . .

(1. 18) But as to what Avida was saying — “Why did not God create us so that we should not sin and be guilty?” — if man had been created so, he would not have belonged to himself, but would have been the instrument of him that moved him. . . . And how, then, would man differ from a harp³³ which another plays or the cart which another guides? . . .

But God in his kindness did not will that he should create man so. But he exalted him by Free-will above many things, and made him equal with the angels. For observe the sun, and the moon, and the sphere, and the rest of these things which are greater than we in some things, that there is not given to them Free-will of themselves, but they are all bound by the command³⁴ that they should do only that which was commanded them and nothing else. For the sun (p. 4) never says,³⁵ “I will not rise at any time,” nor the moon, “I will not change and not wane nor

³¹ **لَا يَتَكَلَّمُونَ وَلَا يُعَلِّمُونَ** “to speak and to instruct,” C; “*de discourir et de conclure*,” N.

³² The conception that faith or belief is the first step in the Christian life occurs frequently in the Odes, but it is nowhere so directly connected with knowledge as here. The closest parallel is perhaps viii. 12-13: “Keep my faith, ye that are kept by it, and know my knowledge, ye that know me in the truth.” Compare, also, xvi. 5: “I am strong in His praise, and I have faith in Him”; xxviii. 4: “I had faith, therefore found I rest, for faithful is He in whom I had faith”; xxxiv. 6: “Believe and live and be saved.” Also, xxix. 6; xxxix. 6, 11; xlii. 12.

³³ The comparison of man to a harp upon which another plays, occurs vi. 1: “As the hand moves over the harp and the strings speak, so speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord, and I speak by His love.” Compare, also, xiv. 8; xxvi. 3.

³⁴ **مُصَدِّقٌ أَمْرًا** So N; “fixed by ordinance,” C.

³⁵ In the Odes, also, the fact that the heavenly bodies never rest is adduced as an illustration of subjection to the command of God, xvi. 14: “And created things run in their courses and do their works”; (15) “They know not how to stand and be idle, and His hosts are subject to His word.” With the next sentence, “They are instruments of the wisdom of God which errs not,” compare the following lines: (16) “The treasury of the light is the sun, and the treasury of the darkness is the night”; (17) “So he made the sun for the day that it may be bright, but night brings darkness over the face of the land.”

increase," nor does any one of the stars say, "I will not rise and I will not set," [— and so of the sea, the hills, the winds, the earth,] but all these things serve and are subject to one command, for they are the instruments of the wisdom of God which errs not. . . . (l. 17) On this account there has been given to him these things in kindness,³⁶ that they might minister to him for a season. . . .

(l. 27) On this account let it be manifest to you that the goodness³⁶ of God has been great toward man, and that there has been given to him Free-will more than to all those elements of which we have been speaking; that by this same Free-will he may justify himself, and govern himself in a god-like manner, and associate with the angels, who also are possessed of Free-will for themselves.

Here follows an account of the fall of the angels through their sin with the daughters of men.

(p. 5, l. 3) For everything that exists stands in need of the Lord of All;³⁷ and there is no end to his bounty.³⁸

Avida objects :

(l. 19) The commandments which have been given to men are hard and they are not able to perform them.

Bardaisan said :

This is the answer of such a one as doth not desire to do that which is good; and more especially of him who has obeyed and submitted to his enemy. For men are not commanded to do anything but what they are able to do. For there are two commandments set before us such as are suitable and just

³⁶ Several passages refer to the goodness (ܠܚܝܬܐ), kindness (ܠܚܝܬܐ), and mercies (ܠܚܝܬܐ) of God as manifested especially in creating man, and endowing him with powers fitted to raise him above his present status and make him more like God. With the above, p. 3, 29 sqq.; and p. 4, 17; 30, compare Ode xxix. 2: "According to His praise He made me, and according to His goodness He gave unto me"; (3) "According to His mercies He exalted me, and according to His excellent beauty He set me on high"; xvii. 7: "He glorified me by His kindness, and raised my mind to the height of His truth"; xiv. 9: "According to the multitude of Thy mercies, so shalt Thou give to me." See, also, note 40. For bounty (ܠܚܝܬܐ) see note 38.

³⁷ Compare iv. 9: "not that Thou wast in need of us, but that we were in need of Thee." But the word used is ܠܚܝܬܐ, not ܠܚܝܬܐ.

³⁸ "Bounty," ܠܚܝܬܐ. xi. 9: "I was enriched by his bounty"; xxv. 7: "I grew great by his bounty." Compare note 40.

for Free-will: one that we separate ourselves from everything that is evil and which we should dislike to be done to ourselves; and the other that we should do that which is good and which we love, and desire that it should be done to us likewise. What man, therefore, is there who is unable to avoid stealing, or to avoid lying or committing adultery and fornication, or that he should be guilty of hatred and falsehood? For lo! all these things are subject to the mind of man, and they lie not in the power of the body, but in the will of the soul. For even if a man be poor and sick and old, or impotent in his limbs, he is able to avoid doing all these things; and as he is able (p. 6) to avoid doing all these things, so is he able to love, and to bless, and to speak the truth, and to pray for that which is good for every one whom he knows: and if he be in health and have the use of his hands, he is able too to give something of that which he has; also to support by the strength of body him who is sick and broken down, and this too he is able to do. Who, therefore, it is that is not able to do what those devoid of faith³⁹ murmur about I know not. For I think it is in these commandments more than in anything else man has power. For they are easy, and there is nothing that is able to hinder them. For we are not commanded to carry heavy burdens of stones [and so of other tasks]. . . .

(l. 18) But there have been given to us according to the kindness of God commandments without grudging⁴⁰ such as every man

³⁹ "Devoid of faith." ܠܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ = ἀπιστοι. Ode xviii. 4: "Lord, do not Thou, because of them that are deficient, ܠܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ, take Thy Word from me." Possibly "in faith" has been lost from the text; but the same phrase recurs, xxiv. 7, ܠܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ, in close connection with ܠܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ, and the interpretation of xviii. 4 must be considered in connection with that of xxiv. 7 (see p. 197).

⁴⁰ "Without grudging," ܠܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ. It occurs eight times in the Odes, and properly means "without reluctance"; e.g. xxiii. 4: "Walk ye in the knowledge of the Most High *without grudging*." But it is usually found with verbs of giving, and is then equivalent to *ἀφθρως*. With the above passage compare xv. 6: "The way of error have I left, and have walked towards Him. And have received *salvation* from Him *without grudging*. And according to His bounty He hath given to me, And according to His excellent beauty He hath made me." — "Commandments," ܠܠܗܘܬܐ, and "salvation," ܠܠܗܘܬܐ, are easily confused. Moreover, it would be somewhat more appropriate to receive commandments immediately after leaving the way of error, rather than salvation. Should the evidence ever warrant a definite ascription of the Odes to Bardaisan, I should be tempted to emend the text of the Ode.

who possesses a soul within him⁴¹ can do rejoicing; for there is no man who rejoiceth not when he doth that which is good; ⁴² nor is there any one who doth not delight within himself when he refraineth from wicked things, with the exception of those who were not made for this grace, and who are called tares. For would not that Judge be unjust who should blame a man for such a thing as he is not able to do?

Avida said to him :

Respecting these deeds, O Bardaisan, do you say that they are easy to perform?

Bardaisan said :

To him who desires, I have said and do say that they are easy; for this is the good conduct of a free mind, and of that soul which has not rebelled against its governors. For there are many things which impede the action of the body, and more especially old age, and sickness, and poverty.

Avida said :

Perhaps a man may be able to avoid wicked things, but to do good things who among men is able?

⁴¹ "Every man that possesses a soul within him," *i.e.*, every living man. ܠܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ. The wording suggests a plausible emendation for vii. 27, which as it stands is unintelligible. The text reads: ܠܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ. The words ܠܠܗܘܬܐ have been lost after ܠܠܗܘܬܐ, and the second ܠܠܗܘܬܐ is a corrupt dittograph for ܠܠܗܘܬܐ.

⁴² This joy in the good is the most characteristic trait both in Bardaisan and in the author of the Odes. But whereas Bardaisan finds it in human nature as such, and conceives "the good" as good deeds, the poet finds it in the redeemed and purified soul, and conceives "the good" as God Himself; not, however, to the exclusion of Bardaisan's conception, for the poet gives no description of human nature as such. There is one passage in Harris's translation which seems to express the doctrine of Bardaisan, vii. 1: "As the impulse of anger against evil, so is the impulse of joy over what is lovely, And brings in of its fruits without restraint; My joy is the Lord, and my impulse is towards Him." But the word here translated "what is lovely," ܠܠܗܘܬܐ, is literally, "the beloved," and a comparison with iii. 5, "I love the Beloved and my soul loves Him," makes it reasonably certain that the passage has no such general application. Bardaisan, again, nowhere definitely states his theory of redemption; hence a direct comparison of the two authors on this vital point is impossible, and the attempt to reconstruct the theories of each from the scattered hints in our possession would lead me far beyond the limits assigned me.

Bardaisan said :

It is more easy to do good than to abstain from (p. 7) evil. For the good is the man's own, and on this account he rejoices whenever he does good ; but the evil is the operation of the enemy and on this account when a man is troubled and not sound in his nature he does wicked things.

After developing in some detail the distinction between the true enjoyment which attends good deeds, and the false enjoyment which attends evil, Bardaisan proceeds :

(l. 24) We ought plainly to understand that the unrestrained ardor of love is called lust, which, although there may be in it rest (*i.e.* contentment, satisfaction) for a moment, nevertheless is far removed from the love which is true, whose rest is forever, incorruptible and indissoluble.⁴³

(p. 11, l. 4) I likewise, O Philip, know well that there are men who are called Chaldaëans and others who love the knowledge of this art [*i.e.* astrology], as I also once loved it. [Some believe in Destiny, some in Luck, some in Free-will.] (l. 21) But, as for myself, in my humble opinion, it seems to me that these three views are partly true and partly false. They are true in that men speak from the appearance of what they see, and they see as things seem to them; they are false, in that the wisdom of God is richer than they,⁴⁴ which has established the worlds,⁴⁵ and created man, and has ordained the governors,⁴⁶ and has given to all things the power which is suitable for each one of them.

(p. 12, l. 35) But let us speak now and show with respect to

⁴³ ܐܢܝ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ Compare xxv. 12: "I was justified by His kindness, and His rest is forever and ever"; iii. 5-6: "I love the Beloved, my soul loves Him; Where His rest is, there also am I"; xi. 10: "From above He hath given me rest that is incorruptible," ܐܢܝܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ. The conception "rest" or "peace" occurs about seventeen times in the Odes.

⁴⁴ For this conception of knowledge or wisdom as riches, compare ix. 4: "Be enriched in God the Father, and receive the thought of the Most High"; xi. 9: "I was enriched by His bounty."

⁴⁵ Compare xvi. 20: "The worlds were made by His Word, and by the thought of His heart"; 12: "He spread out the heavens and fixed the stars, He fixed the creation and established it."

⁴⁶ ܕܡܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ, heads, ܕܡܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ, governors, ܕܡܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ, rulers, each of which, when applied to a planet, signifies a definite astrological function, like the Greek *οικοδεσπότης*, *προηγούμενος*, *ἐπικρατήτωρ*, etc. I cannot determine their precise meanings.

Destiny, that it has not power over everything; for this very thing itself (p. 13) which is called Destiny is a disposition (or arrangement) of the motion⁴⁷ which is given to the governors and the elements⁴⁸ by God, and according to this motion and disposition, intelligences are changed in their descent to the soul, and souls are changed in their descent to the bodies, and this change is called the Destiny and the Horoscope⁴⁹ of this complex which is being sifted and purified for the advantage of that which has been receiving aid and will receive it⁵⁰ until the consummation of all.

The next section shows how organisms are normally ruled by their respective natures.

(p. 14, l. 10) And know ye well that, whenever nature is disturbed from its right course, its disturbance is due to Destiny, because those heads and governors upon whom depends the change that is called Horoscope, are opposed one to the other. And those on the right⁵¹ are called "those which assist nature" and add to

⁴⁷ Disposition of the motion, ܕܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ, is equivalent to and is, perhaps, a translation of *σχηματισμὸς τῆς οὐρανίας κινήσεως*, as used by Ptol.-Procl. *Tetrab.* iii. 1. It signifies the total complex of relations constituted by the position of the heavenly bodies at any given moment.

⁴⁸ "Elements," ܐܠܝܡܢܬܐ = *στοιχεῖα*, but here probably means the signs of the Zodiac. See Otho Brunfels, *De diffinitionibus et terminis astrologiae* (in Jul. Firm. Mat. *Astron. libb.* viii. ed. N. Pruckner, Basel, 1551), "*οὐράνια στοιχεῖα*, coelestia signa."

⁴⁹ "Destiny," ܕܝܡܝܢܐ, *εὐμαρμένη*. "Horoscope," ܕܝܡܝܢܐ, *ὠροσκόπος*. Strictly speaking, the horoscope was the sign of the Zodiac rising at the moment of birth (see the admirably clear summary of the leading doctrines of astrology given by Sextus Emp., *Adv. Astrol.* (v) 12 sqq.), but it is here used of the total effect exerted by the stars upon the infant at birth. — "The complex," probably *σύστασις*.

⁵⁰ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ.

⁵¹ "Those on the right," etc. Precisely what Bardaisan means by "those on the right," "those on the left," I cannot explain. "Right" and "left" do not seem to bear any definite technical meaning in astrology. Boll has shown (*Sphæra*, p. 383, n. 1; Corr. & Add., pp. 563-564) that "right" sometimes means "north," sometimes "south," sometimes "east," and sometimes perhaps "west." None of these seems to fit the present passage, for clearly "those on the right" are planets or constellations which are always beneficent. In astrology as known to us, Jupiter and Venus are beneficent, Mars and Saturn maleficent, and Mercury neutral. The position of a planet makes its proper influence stronger or weaker—e.g. any planet is more powerful when in its own "house," or when rising in the eastern sky than when situated elsewhere in the Zodiac, or when setting—but it cannot change its proper character.

its excellence whenever their motion helps them⁵² and they stand in high places of the sphere in their own degrees. Those on the left are called "bad," and whenever they occupy the high places they are opposed to nature and not only injure men, but also, etc.

(p. 32, l. 4) What, then, shall we say respecting the new race of ourselves who are Christians, whom in every country and in every region the Messiah established at his coming; for lo! wherever we be, all of us are called by the one name of the Messiah — Christians; and upon one day, which is the first, we assemble ourselves together, and on the appointed days we abstain from food. . . .

(p. 33, l. 10) But wherever they be and in whatever place that they are, the laws of the countries do not separate them from the laws of their Messiah; neither does the Destiny of the Governors compel them to make use of things impure to them; but sickness and health, and riches and poverty — this which does not appertain to their Free-will, befalls them wherever they are. As the Free-will of men is not governed by the necessity of the Seven, and whenever it is governed it is able to resist its Governors, so also is this visible man not able readily to deliver himself from the commands of his Governors, for he is a slave and a subject. For if we were able to do everything we should be everything,⁵³ and if we had no power to do anything, we should be the instruments of others. But whenever God wills, anything can be, without opposition. For there is nothing that can hinder that great (p. 34) and holy will.⁵⁴ For even those that think they withstand it, withstand — not by their strength — but by their wickedness and error. This may last for a short time, because He is kind and permits all natures to remain as they are and govern themselves by their own will, though bound none the less by the works that have been made and by the institutions which have been established for their help.⁵⁵ For this orderliness and government

⁵² "Helps them," etc., i.e. when their inherent beneficent influences are reinforced by their positions in the Zodiac and relations to other planets and constellations. "High places," either ἰψώματα, a certain position in the Zodiac fixed for each planet (*Ptol.-Procl.* i. 22), or μεσουρανήματα, position on or near the meridian. "Their own degrees," each planet has two "houses" or signs properly belonging to it, and in its "houses" it has a certain position. This is the position in which its influence is strongest.

⁵³ Cf. xxvi. 11-12: "Who is able to interpret the wonders of the Lord? For he who could interpret would be resolved into (𐤒𐤍𐤕𐤍 𐤓𐤁𐤕) that which is interpreted."

⁵⁴ Cf. xviii. 10: "Thy will is perfection."

⁵⁵ The "works" are probably the material universe, especially the stars; the "institutions," probably, in particular, their natures.

which has been given, and mingling of one with another, softens down the violence of the natures, that they should not be altogether injurious or altogether injured, as they were injuring and injured from before the creation of the world. And a time will come when this injuriousness also which remains in them shall be brought to an end by the restraints⁵⁶ found in another mingling. And at the establishment of that new world, all evil motions will cease, and all rebellions will be brought to an end, and the foolish will be persuaded, and deficiencies will be filled up, and there will be peace and safety, by the bounty of Him who is the Lord of all natures.

The doctrine of the soul's descent from heaven here sketched by Bardaisan was, in one form or another, widely prevalent in antiquity. Its origin, however, is not known and the diverse forms under which it appeared have been but imperfectly investigated. It was probably always associated with the complementary idea that the soul which has thus fallen from her divine estate should seek again to regain it. It is probable, also, that, in all its forms, the soul was supposed to encounter, both in its ascent and its descent, influences severally appropriate to the several tracts of space through which it passed, although it is not possible to prove, in all cases, the existence of this element. These influences, again, might be conceived as personal or impersonal, good, bad, or both.

The doctrine was probably of Oriental origin and was introduced into the Greek world by the Orphics about the seventh century B.C.; it was adopted by the Pythagoreans, and later by Plato, who probably learned it from the Pythagoreans. But there is good reason for believing that the form in which it appears in Plato's works has been directly influenced by Oriental ideas, for it already contains the essential elements of the astrological form of the doctrine, although astrology as a science was as yet unknown to the Greek world at large. Proclus' interpretations of the myths of the

⁵⁶ *تربيه*, lit. "training," "education," "*résultat*," N. The world is a system whose equilibrium is maintained by a balance between opposed but equal tendencies. Its present evils can be corrected by a new combination of its elements.

Republic and *Timæus* are therefore correct, in so far as the general outlines are concerned, although, of course, arbitrary and fanciful in detail.

Proclus' own theory is very similar to that of Bardaisan, and I cannot supply a better commentary on Bardaisan's statements than by translating one or two short passages from Proclus' intolerably prolix commentary upon the *Republic*.⁵⁷

. . . the eternally subsisting and inflexible dominion of Necessity to which the soul, when she has proceeded as far as the lowest of the orbits (*i.e.* that of the moon) becomes subject, and as she proceeds thereto she is immersed in all influences [emitted] from the celestial [bodies], in such manner that she is not only a part of the [lower] world, but is one of its lowest parts, and instead of belonging to those things which rule the Universe, she becomes one of the things ruled, just as though a philosopher were to embark in a ship and become a rower, for he would have to take from the sailors such and such orders and obey the pilot and be exposed to gales of wind, [in brief], he would, in a sense, differ in no way from the things which are moved by other things [only]. So also the soul, upon falling wholly into birth, is exposed to material spirits, is subject to the guiding spirit, depends upon the operation of the celestial orbits which severally exert their diverse influences upon her.

This is Bardaisan's doctrine with one important difference. Proclus holds that the embodied soul is absolutely subject to the influences of the stars; Bardaisan that the body only is subjected to them, and the body only in so far as not controlled by its nature; but the soul is governed by Free-will.

In another passage Proclus describes at some length the

⁵⁷ Procl. *in Remp.* ed. Kroll, ii. 345, 14: . . . τὴν ἐστῶσαν αἰὲ καὶ ἀκίνητον βασιλείαν τῆς Ἀνάγκης, ὃφ' ἦν εἰς τὸ ἐσχατον προελθοῦσα τῶν περιόδων γίνεται ψυχῇ, πρὸς εἰς τὸ ἐσχατον ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανίων περιληφθεῖσα ποιήσεσιν. ὥστε μὴ μόνον εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου μέρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἓν τι τῶν ἐσχατῶν μερῶν καὶ τῶν διοικουμένων ἀπὸ τῶν διοικούντων τὸ πᾶν· οἷον εἰ τις φιλόσοφος εἰς ναῦν ἐμβαίη καὶ γένοιτο πλωτῆρ· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τοῦτον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν τὰ καὶ τὰ ἀκούειν καὶ ἐπεσθαι τῷ κυβερνήτῃ καὶ ἀνέμων ὑποκείσθαι ζάλαις καὶ εἶναι τρόπον τινὰ διαφέροντα τῶν ἑτεροκινήτων οὐδέν· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ψυχὴ πεσοῦσα πάντως εἰς γένεσιν ἔκκεται δαίμοσιν ὕλικοις, ὑπέστρωται τῇ ἀγοντι δαίμονι, τῶν κοσμικῶν περιόδων τῆς ποιήσεως ἐξήρτηται ποιουσῶν ἄλλων ἄλλα εἰς αὐτήν.

way in which the soul's total endowment is derived from the constellations and the planets :⁵⁸

What, then, comes from Klotho? He (Plato) says she ratifies the destiny we have chosen — not merely the kind of life, but also the [influences] imparted to us by the Universe. From Lachesis, indeed, from whom we got life, we get both, but Klotho ratifies them by her own threads, the products of her spinning [or twisting], in that she causes to stream upon us the gifts of the celestial sphere. . . . Not only, then, from the signs of the Zodiac, but from the constellations also which rise simultaneously with each of them there comes to us a generous largess, and from them [the] Chaldean and [the] Egyptian [astrologers] are wont to foretell many events of our lives, upon the ground that they, too, exert a great and effective fateful influence upon nativities. The influence, then, which is twisted and intertwined from all these, the ancients compared to "twisting" and "turning" together with the stretching of the thread from above downwards, and by way of a simile they, for this reason, called this Fate, Klotho (= "Twister").

He then brings [the soul] from Klotho to the spinning of Atropos, which finishes the twisting, and through the threads which it gives, makes what has been twisted incapable of being un-

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 342, 21 : τί οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Κλωθοῦς παραγίνεται; κυρωθῆναι φησὶν ἡν εἰλόμεθα μοῖραν· οὐχὶ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς εἶδος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀπονερόμενα ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ παντός. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Λαχέσεως, παρ' ἧς καὶ βίος, τὰ συναμφοτέρα ἔχομεν· ἡ δὲ Κλωθὴ κυροῖ ταῦτα τοῖς ἑαυτῆς νήμασι καὶ κλώσασιν, ἐπιτρέουσα ἡμῖν τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς δόσεις. . . . οὐκ οὖν μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν ζῳδίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν παρανατελλόντων ἔρχεται εἰς ἡμᾶς παμπόλλη τις δόσις· ἀφ' ὧν καὶ εἰώθασι Χαλδαῖοι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι πολλὰ περὶ τῶν βίων ἡμῶν προγιγνώσκουσιν, ὡς μεγάλην μοῖραν καὶ τούτων ἔχόντων καὶ δραστήριον περὶ τὰς γενέσεις. τὴν οὖν ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων εἰρομένην ποίησιν καὶ συμπλεκομένην στρέψει καὶ περιστροφῇ μετὰ τῆς ἀνωθεν εἰς τὸ κάτω τοῦ νήματος τάσεως ἀπέκασαν οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ ἀπεικάζαντες Κλωθὴ διὰ ταῦτα τὴν Μοῖραν ἐκάλεσαν.

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσιν ἀγει τῆς Ἀτρόπου, πέρας ἐπιτιθεῖσαν τῇ κλώσει καὶ δι' ὧν αὕτη νημάτων διδῶσιν ἀμετάστροφα τὰ κλωσθέντα ποιοῦσαν. παραδεξαμένη γὰρ αὕτη παρὰ τῆς Κλωθοῦς τὴν νῆσιν διὰ τῶν πλανωμένων κύκλων ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἡμῖν ἐκείθεν ἐκ τῶν κινήσεων αὐτῶν προξενεῖ. καὶ ὅσῳ δὴ πλεον τὰ δεύτερα ἐπὶ τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς δρᾷ, τόσῳ μᾶλλον ἀφύκτα πάντα γίνεται τὰ μοιραῖα. βαθύνουσα γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ πλειοσιν ὑποκατακλίνεται περιόδῳ, ἀφ' ὧν οὐκέτι δυνατόν ἀναφυγεῖν μὴ τέλος ἐπιθεῖσαν τοῖς αἰρεθείσιν.

Οὐκ ἄρα δεῖ μόνον οἰεσθαι τὰς γενέσεις συμπληροῦσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ζῳῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν πλανωμένων μόνων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πάντων εἰρμὸν ἓνα γίνεσθαι καὶ τάξιν ἡμῖν ἐφέκουσαν, καὶ διὰ τῶν πλανωμένων ἡμῖν τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπλανῶν δίδεσθαι, τῶν τε κύκλων τῶν ἐκεῖ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μοιρῶν καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τῶν δλων ζῳδίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συστάσεων.

twisted. For upon receiving from Klotho the spinning, she contributes to us, by means of the planetary orbits, various [gifts] thence, one upon another, from their motions. And the more these secondary [influences] work upon us on top of those which preceded them, the more inevitable do the decrees of destiny become. For as the soul descends lower, she becomes subject to more and yet more orbits, from which she cannot escape until she has brought what she elected to its completion.



One should not, therefore, suppose that the nativities of men or of other living creatures, are filled up from the fixed stars or the planets exclusively, but that from them all results a single train and series reaching to us, and that the [influence] of the fixed stars, and of the circles on high and of their degrees, and of the stars, and of the signs taken as wholes, and of the other constructions [such as the triangles, etc., inscribed in the Zodiac], are given to us through the planets.

Turning now from Bardaisan to the Odes, I shall endeavor to interpret some of the more difficult Odes in the light of Bardaisan's doctrines.



















The twelfth Ode runs as follows :

- (1) The Word ⁵⁹ of truth hath filled me
that I may speak of him ; ⁶⁰
- (2) As a stream of water streams the truth from my mouth,
and my lips show forth his fruits.
- (3) He hath increased in me his knowledge;
For the mouth of the Lord is the true Word,
and the door of His light.
- (4) The Most High hath given him to His worlds —
the interpreters of His beauty,
the narrators of His praise,
the confessors of His counsel,
the heralds of His thought,
the chasteners of His works, ⁶¹
- (5) The subtlety of the Word cannot be told;
Like his subtlety is his piercingness, ⁶²

⁵⁹ Read without points.

⁶⁰ For  read .

⁶¹ Read plural points.

⁶² V. 5 is unintelligible. I have followed, reluctantly, Labourt's reading :                  

- (6) and endless is his course.
 Never doth he fail
 but steadfast stands,
 And knows not his fall
 nor the way of it.
- (7) For as his work is,
 such is his final end.⁶³
 He is light and the dawning of thought:
- (8) The worlds through him talk one with another,
 in converse were those who were silent.⁶⁴
 From him came love and concord,
- (9) and they told one another whatever they had [to tell].
 They were penetrated by the Word,
- (10) and they knew him that made them,
 because they were in concord.
 For [it was] the voice of the Most High [that] spake to them,
 His meaning sped by his agency.⁶⁵
- (11) For the dwelling-place of the Word is man,
 and his truth is love;
- (12) Blessed are they whom he has made to know all things,
 They know the Lord in His truth.

This beautiful poem might well be entitled "An Ode to the Word." The poet feels himself (vv. 1-3) inspired by the Word which issues forth from the mouth of God, and he is impelled to sing of his nature and his work. He is Light and Thought (v. 7); he pervades the universe (vv. 5, 6^a); nothing can resist him (v. 6^{b-e}); through his influence upon the "worlds" they have become the means of revealing God's beauty, praise, counsel, thought, and of "chastening" His works (v. 4); they have acquired the power of communicating to one another their thoughts. But intelligence, consciousness, is not the only effect of the Word's activity; he also inspires love and concord (v. 9^a); through that love

⁶³ "Final end," i.e. the Word will continue the work of reconciliation in which he is now engaged until all discord has disappeared.

⁶⁴ V. 8. "In converse": for the "Word" the poet has used فلم consistently throughout this Ode. "Those who were silent" are perhaps those on the "left," see note 51. Or the ppl. may be pluperfect.

⁶⁵ I.e. by that of the Word. فلم here seems nearly equivalent to *ἐμπνεῖται*.

the worlds become aware of their Creator (v. 10^{a, b}), for the Word is the voice, the "meaning," the thought of God (v. 10^{c, d}). Yet the same Word that rules the stars in their courses, dwells in man, and his truth is love (v. 11). Blessed indeed must they be who feel themselves possessed of such knowledge as this (v. 12).⁶⁶


To any one who has any acquaintance with the literature of astrology the "worlds" as described in v. 4 will suggest the planets and constellations as conceived by the pious astrologer, and it will be remembered that "worlds" is the word used by Bardaisan for the planets [note 45]. These are not Valentinian æons. The æons have no such functions; they are shut up within the limits of the Pleroma, cut off from the lower world by the Horos, and have nothing to do immediately with the redemption of the world accomplished by the Soter and by Jesus. But certain elements of the picture certainly are Valentinian. In the western Valentinian system of which Irenæus has preserved the best account, after the æons have been produced by the Propator:⁶⁷

The Holy Spirit taught them to give thanks on being all rendered equal among themselves, and led them to a state of true repose. Thus then they tell us that the æons were constituted equal to each other in form and sentiment, so that all became as Nous, and Logos, and Anthropos, and Christus. The female æons, too, became all as Aletheia, and Zoe, and Spiritus, and Ecclesia.

⁶⁶ With this description of the cosmological functions of the Word, compare the Epistle to Diognetus, chap. 7 (Lightfoot-Harmer's translation), [God sent to earth] "not a subaltern, or angel, or ruler, or one of those that direct the affairs of earth, or one of those who have been entrusted with the dispensations in heaven, but the very Artificer and Creator of the universe Himself, by whom He made the heavens, by whom He enclosed the sea in its proper bounds, whose mysteries all the elements faithfully observe, from whom [the sun] hath received even the measure of the courses of the day to keep them, whom the moon obeys as He bids her shine by night, whom the stars obey as they follow the course of the moon, by whom all things are ordered and bounded and placed in subjection, the heavens and the things that are in the heavens, the earth, and the things that are in the earth, the sea, and the things that are in the sea, fire, air, abyss, the things that are in the heights, the things that are in the depths, the things that are between the two."

This Epistle exhibits other points of contact with the sphere of ideas common both to Bardaisan and to the Odes.

⁶⁷ *Ante-Nic. Fathers*, Am. ed., vol. i., p. 318.


ita dicit : Infirmatus est uterus virginis et accepit foetum et gravata est, et facta est in multa miseratione mater virgo." *Infirmatus est* is meaningless, but *informatus est* represents  with a fair degree of accuracy.



- (1) A cup of milk was offered to me,
and I drank it in the sweetness of the kindness of the Lord.
- (2) The Son is the Cup,
and He who was milked, the Father.
- (3) And the Holy Spirit milked Him because His breasts were full
and it was not fitting His milk should go to waste.⁷³
- (4) The Holy Spirit opened Her [the Spirit's] bosom,
and mixed the milk from the two breasts of the Father,
And gave the mixture to the worlds⁷⁴ without their knowing it,
- (5) and they that received in its fullness are they on the right.⁷⁵
- (6) They moulded the body of the virgin
and she received conception and bore;
The virgin became a mother with many mercies.
- (7) She travailed and bore a son without any pain,
- (8) and since there was none, she was empty;⁷⁶
And she sought no midwife, for He kept her safe,⁷⁷
like a man, she bore voluntarily.
- (9) She bore in joy⁷⁸
and acquired⁷⁹ in great power,
- (10) and loved in safety⁸⁰
and kept in kindness
and showed forth in majesty.
Hallelujah.


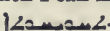
⁷³ So also Fleming.

⁷⁴ Read plural points as suggested by the pl. part.

⁷⁵ See note 51.

⁷⁶ Read .

⁷⁷ , *ἔσωσεν*, e.g. I Tim. 4 16,  = *σεαυτὸν σώσεις*.

⁷⁸  corresponds to *ἐνδειξίς*, etc., of which I can make no sense here. I have followed Labourt's suggestion and read .

⁷⁹ I suspect that the original text read : *ἐκνήσατο ἐν κράτει μεγάλῃ, ἔτεκεν ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει*, that *ἐκνήσατο* was corrupted into *ἐκθήσατο* and the order of the verses changed to suit the sense. For the rare aor. mid. of the verb cf. Himerius, Or. vii. 4, *ὃ τὰς εὐτυχεῖς ὠδῖνας καὶ κυθησαμένη καὶ λύσασα*.

⁸⁰ , *σωτηρία*.

Notwithstanding the strange metaphors, so offensive to our taste, the theory of the Incarnation here set forth is perfectly intelligible. Verses 1 and 2 are introductory and serve as a key to the understanding of what follows. The milk which the poet has received through the Son as the Cup, is the divine influence or Word of which he seems so vividly conscious, and to which he refers so often. In vv. 3 and 4 the Holy Spirit draws from the Father a similar divine influence or substance, mixes it in "her" own bosom and gives it to the planets; those on the right,⁸¹ *i.e.* the beneficent planets, receive it in its fullness. The planets then "mould" or "form" or "shape" the body, literally belly, of the virgin, and she brings forth a son, without pain because she was empty—the precise meaning of this conception I shall discuss presently. She needed no midwife; God protected her from all harm during the process (vv. 6–8). The poem closes with the crescendo of vv. 9–10.

That this theory, and the language in which it is expressed, is in general agreement with the Book of the Laws, is apparent; especially noteworthy are the expressions "the worlds" and "those on the right." It remains to adduce further evidence which will directly connect it with Bardaisan.

Ephraem gives a brief account of Bardaisan's theory: ⁸²

⁸¹ The fact that this distinction between planets as on the right and on the left, occurs both in Bardaisan and in the Odes, but not, so far as I have been able to discover, in Ptolemy, is significant (see note 51).

⁸² Hom. lv., *op. cit.*, ii. p. 557:

ܕܟܥ ܕܡܝ ܐܬܬ ܚܐ ܫܬܩܬ ܕܡܝܢܝ ܕܠܐ ܠܡܕܢܐ ܕܐܡܝ ܕܐܡܢܝ ܡܢܐ
 ܡܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܢܐ ܡܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ ܡܬܐ
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Pray, then, my brethren, for the disciples of Bardaisan, that they may not rave again, as when like children they say something flowed down from the Father of Life and the mother conceived a hidden son and bore him and he was called the Son of the Living⁸³ One. — Holy Jesus, glory be to Thy Nativity! And in that he said that it was impossible for *one* ever to germinate, sprout, and procreate, our Lord he called a 'Nature born from between two,' in the mystery of a marriage. But even as our Lord's body was not born from between two, how much more pure must His divine nature be, for He is "light from light."

"Something flowed down," literally "flowed and descended," suggests that Ephraem had before him the very milk simile of Ode xix. But too much stress must not be laid upon his phraseology. "Flow" is used in Syriac of almost any easy, unopposed motion, and "something" does not necessarily mean more than that Ephraem found Bardaisan hard to understand. But the allusion to the "mystery of a marriage" is more significant. The word which I have rendered "marriage" may have a more literal sense; it certainly is well fitted to express what the poet describes in v. 4. There then follows an allusion to a widespread notion — "the mixture was given to the worlds without their knowing it." The theory that Christ's Incarnation was concealed from the powers of this world occurs early in the second century in Ignatius' Epistle to the Ephesians: "And hidden from the prince of this world were the virginity of Mary and her child-bearing, and likewise also the death of the Lord⁸⁴ — three mysteries to be cried aloud — the which were wrought in the silence of God. How, then, were they made manifest to the æons? *A star shone* forth in the heavens above all the stars; and its light was unutterable, and its strangeness caused amazement; and all the rest of the constellations, with the sun and moon, formed themselves into a chorus about the star; but the star itself far outshone them

⁸³ "The Son of the Living One." Compare Ode iii. 11: "He who finds pleasure in the Living One, will become living." The context shows that the Living One is Christ, which protects Harris' emendation (the sing. for the pl.).

⁸⁴ Cf. I Cor. 2 s.

all; and there was perplexity to know whence came this strange appearance which was so unlike them.”⁸⁵ The notion that souls must encounter the divinities of the planets in their descent and ascent was common among the Gnostics.⁸⁶ But here it has a peculiar significance. In Bardaisan’s system, the intelligences in their descent to the souls and the souls in their descent to the bodies, pass through the spheres of the several planets⁸⁷ and receive from them certain modifications, the total result of which is determined by the horoscope, or relations of the several heavenly bodies, one to another, at the moment of birth, and is seen in the personal peculiarities of individuals.⁸⁸ The divine Christ in his descent must, of course, escape these influences and appear on earth precisely as he left heaven.

Why, then, do the planets act as the instrument of God’s will in bringing about the virgin birth? Because, again, in Bardaisan’s system their influences represent the sum total of what we call nowadays mechanical laws. All that is not under the control of Free-will, which is the law, so to speak, for conscious intelligences, or of nature (*φύσις*), which is the law for organisms, is subject to the control of the planets. The changes in the Virgin’s body which were prerequisite to the accomplishment of the virgin birth would not be produced by the *φύσις* of her body—they must, therefore, be produced by the planets.

The nature of these changes is not further described in the Ode—the “worlds” simply “mould” the body. But other sources complement this statement in a very satisfactory way.

Ephraem in his commentary upon the Epistles of St. Paul, which has been preserved in Armenian, gives quotations from an apocryphal Epistle of the Corinthians to Paul, together with a commentary in which he interprets the doctrines there expressed as those of Bardaisan. (*Italics indicate*

⁸⁵ Ig. *Eph.* ch. 19 ; tr. Lightfoot.

⁸⁶ See above, p. 182.

⁸⁷ The influence of the planets is the more important ; no doubt that of the signs of the Zodiac and of other constellations was supposed to coöperate.

⁸⁸ See above, p. 180.

the quotations, as distinguished by Zahn⁸⁹ from Ephraem's commentary.)

"And the words which they speak and teach are erroneous, namely : One should not, say they, accept the Prophets, but the Gospel. And they call God not almighty, that is, they say that he who spoke through the Prophets is no almighty God. And they say there is no resurrection of the body ; and of man they say he is not made by God at all, but by the seven Guides. And they say our Lord did not come with an earthly body, but with a heavenly body. And they do not admit that he was born of the Virgin Mary ; for they say he went through her as something not [coming] from her. And they regard the world not as the creation of God, but of certain angels, namely, of the seven Guides. But this doctrine is that of the school of Bardaisan."

Evidently Ephraem knew Bardaisanites who held that Christ went through the Virgin's body without receiving anything of her.

In the dialogue "On the right faith in God," formerly ascribed to Origen, a certain Marinus, a Bardaisanite, appears as one of the speakers. The book was written about A.D. 300.⁹⁰ It cannot be trusted as evidence for the doctrines of Bardaisan himself ; it is not even certain that it faithfully reproduces the views of the Bardaisanites of that age.⁹¹ It is of value only when confirmed by other evidence.

Marinus holds : "that he (Christ) took a heavenly⁹² body . . . the Word himself became flesh without taking anything from without in addition . . . he himself suffered in appearance . . . he came from heaven with his body . . . as the angels appeared to Abraham, and ate and drank with him, so also did he . . . we confess that he [came] through

⁸⁹ Translated from the German version given by Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT. Kanons*, II. 597.

⁹⁰ Der Dialog des Adamantius *περὶ τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ὁρθῆς πίστεως*. *Gr. Chr. Schrift.*, vol. iv., ed. D. W. H. van de Sande Bakhuizen, p. xvi.

⁹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. xvii.

⁹² *Op. cit.*, 170. 6 : ὅτι οὐράνιον σῶμα ἔλαβε. 174. 9 : ὁ λόγος αὐτὸς σὰρξ ἐγένετο οὐδὲν ἔξωθεν προσλαβών. 1. 22 : δοκῇσι πέπονθεν αὐτός. 176. 6 : ἀπὸ οὐρανῶν ἦλθεν ἔχων σῶμα. 178. 26 : ὡς καὶ οἱ ἀγγελοὶ τῷ Ἀβραάμ ὥφθησαν, καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπιον μετ' αὐτοῦ, οὕτως καὶ αὐτός. 190. 24 : καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν ὅτι διὰ Μαρίας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ Μαρίας, ὥσπερ γὰρ ὕδωρ διὰ σωλῆνος διέρχεται, μηδὲν προσλαμβάνων, οὕτως καὶ ὁ λόγος διὰ Μαρίας καὶ οὐκ ἐκ Μαρίας.

Mary, but not of Mary, for just as water goes through a pipe without taking on anything, so [came] the Word through Mary, and not of Mary."⁹³

Thus it was that "she bore a son without any pain, and since there was none, she was empty"; that is, the absence of pain proved that the conditions to which pain would be due were lacking. The remainder of the Ode calls for no special discussion.

The milk simile is probably a translation into Christian language of an ancient myth, several accounts of which have reached us. The earliest detailed account is that of Porphyry:⁹⁴ [Homer speaks of the solstitial signs, Cancer and Capricorn as the "gates of the sun."] "Now Capricorn and Cancer are near the Milky Way, constituting its limits, Cancer the northern and Capricorn the southern. And according to Pythagoras the souls are a 'tribe of dreams,' which, he says [*al.* they say] assemble in the Milky Way, and it is so named from the [souls] which are nourished with milk when they fall into birth. For which reason also, he says, necromancers offer the souls a libation of honey mingled with milk, with the idea that they are induced to come to birth for the sake of the pleasure (or savor), because milk naturally is engendered along with them." Proclus (*in Remp.*, Kroll, ii. p. 129, 14 sqq.) repeats Porphyry's account with some variations. Iamblichus, Porphyry's pupil, gives a clue to the source of the tale⁹⁵—Heraclides of Pontus regarded the Milky Way as the place of the souls, whence

⁹³ So also Philoxenus, *ap.* Cureton, *Spic. Syr.* p. vi.: "There are some of them who say that he sent down the Word a body from heaven, as thou saidest just now, and didest assent to thy teacher Bardesan. . . . Because thou hast not comprehended the mind of Bardesan, who assumeth the body of Christ to be from heaven."

⁹⁴ *De ant. nympharum*, ch. 28: Αἰγόκερως δὲ καὶ Καρκίνος περὶ τὸν γαλαξίαν τὰ πέρατα αὐτοῦ εἰληχότες, Καρκίνος μὲν τὰ βόρεια Αἰγόκερως δὲ τὰ νότια· ὁ δὲ δῆμος δ' ὁνείρων κατὰ Πυθαγόραν αἱ ψυχαὶ ἄς συνάγεσθαι φησιν (*al.* φασιν) εἰς τὸν γαλαξίαν τὸν οὕτω προσαγορευόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν γάλακτι τρεφομένων ὅταν εἰς γένεσιν πέσωσιν· ᾧ καὶ σπένδειν αὐταῖς τοῦς ψυχαγωγὸς μέλι κεκραμένον γάλακτι, ὡς ἂν δι' ἡδονῆς εἰς γένεσιν μεμελετηκυῖαις ἔρχεσθαι αἷς συγκνέεισθαι τὸ γάλα πέφυκεν.

⁹⁵ Stobæus, *Ecl. phys.*, i. 52; p. 904, ed. Heeren: καὶ τοῦτοις Ἡρακλείδην μὲν τὸν Πορτικὸν ἀφορίζειν περὶ τὴν (*sic*) γαλαξίαν.

they came to earth. Heraclides was a pupil of Plato; his interest in the mystical aspect of Pythagoreanism is well known (Zeller, *Phil. d. Gr.* ii. 1, Ed. 4, p. 989, 3 ; 1034 sqq.); he must have had trustworthy sources of information, and I have no doubt that this is a genuine fragment of early Pythagorean doctrine. The Orphics had taught that the soul is "breath"; the Pythagoreans refined the conception—it is a luminous substance, it is nourished by the dim light diffused in the Milky Way, and this is the meaning of the name, for this light is the heavenly milk designed for souls. So in the Orphic burial tablets found in southern Italy and Crete (Miss Harrison, *Proleg. to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 660–63) the soul avows itself a "child of Earth and of Starry Heaven" (γῆς παῖς εἰμὶ καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀσπερόεντος). Upon returning to its proper home the soul will of course again need nourishment, and so I would interpret the sentence found in other, similar tablets, "a kid thou art (or, I have) fallen into milk"—the departed soul has fallen into the "milk" of the sky.

It is not at all impossible that the author of the Odes knew of this myth in its Greek form; Bardaisan probably did, as he was a man of learning.^{95a} But he may have drawn it from other sources. The origin of the Orphic-Pythagorean doctrines has not yet been discovered, but it is in my opinion certain that an Oriental element enters into them.

The author of the Odes believed, as at least some Pythagoreans did, that souls consist of light or are robed in a body of light (see p. 203), and it may well be that the ancient explanation of the celestial "milk" as being the light with which souls are fed suggested milk to him as an appropriate simile for the divine substance which proceeded from the Father and Holy Spirit and issued through the Virgin into the world as Jesus.

The theory of the virgin birth presupposed by this Ode is known to be in part Valentinian. Irenæus gives it in almost the words used by Marinus, "he who went through Mary

^{95a} Sozomen's language (see note 18) implies some affinity between Bardaisan's doctrine and the Orphic-Pythagorean theories.

like water through a tube.”⁹⁶ But the doctrine of the Ode is not, as a whole, Valentinian. In the system described by Irenæus, the Jesus who is thus born of the Virgin is not the Son of God, but son of the Demiurge; the divine Christ descends upon him at his baptism. But in the Ode he is the Son of God Himself. Here, again, we have that blending of Gnostic and orthodox elements which I found in Ode xii., and which is believed to have been characteristic of Bardaisan.^{96a}

Ode xxiv. can be interpreted if viewed in the same light.

- (1) The Dove flew upon the Messiah,
because He was her Head;
She sang over Him,
and her voice was heard.
- (2) The inhabitants were afraid,
and the sojourners were moved;
- (3) The birds dropped their wings,
and the creeping things died in their holes.

⁹⁶ *Cont. hæc.*, i. 7; *Gr. ap. Epiph. (Panar.)*, i. 2. 31, 24 (cf. *Hær.* i. 1, p. 356): *εἶναι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν διὰ Μαρίας διοδεύσαντα, καθάπερ ὕδωρ διὰ σωλήνος ὁδεύει.*

^{96a} Hippolytus, *Hær.* vi. 35, says that, according to the western Valentinians, the body of Jesus was “psychic, and therefore, at his baptism, the Spirit as a dove descended, *i.e.* the Logos of his mother on high, Wisdom (Sophia), and came to be with the (γέγονε τῷ) psychic [Jesus] and raised him from the dead. . . . But those of the East, among whom are Axionicus and Ardesianes [= Bardaisan], hold that the body of the Saviour was spiritual, for the Holy Spirit came upon Mary, that is, Wisdom, and the power of the Highest, the constructive craft (δημιουργικὴ τέχνη) in order that what the Spirit had given to Mary might be moulded (διαπλασθῇ).” According to Hippolytus also, then, Bardaisan held the orthodox doctrine, implied in Odes xix. and xxiv., that Christ was divine from his birth and did not acquire divinity at his baptism. The theory of the incarnation which follows is ascribed both to Axionicus and to Bardaisan and may represent Axionicus’ conceptions more faithfully than Bardaisan’s. But it is closely akin to the theory of Ode xix. The milk is represented by the Holy Spirit, the operation of the “worlds” by the “power of the Highest or constructive craft,” which “moulds”—the very word of the Ode if my emendation be correct—“what the Spirit had given Mary.” In the Ode the stars mould the body of Mary; the body of Jesus is, it would seem, formed in the bosom of the Spirit.

- The abysses were opened,
and were spurned:
They were crying to the Lord like women in labor,
(4) and no food was given them,
because there was none for them.
- (5) The abysses were sealed with the seal of the Lord :
They perished by His Thought,⁹⁷
that had been from of old,
For they were corrupt from the beginning,
and the final end of their corruption was life.
- (7) There perished from among them,
all things that were defective;
Because it was not possible to give them the Word,
that they might abide.
- (8) The Lord has destroyed the thoughts,
of all those that had not the truth;
- (9) For they were defective in wisdom,
those that were exalted in their hearts,
And they were rejected,
because they had not the truth.
- (10) For the Lord has disclosed His way,
and spread abroad His grace,
And those that have comprehended it,
know His holiness. Hallelujah.

As Ode xii. sketches in broad outlines the regenerating work of the Word, so this Ode depicts a certain stage in that work—the stage initiated by the descent of the Dove. But in v. 5, with one of those rapid transitions so characteristic of the writer, his thought leaps forward to its final consummation.

The clearest statement of Bardaisan's theory of the work of the Word is given by Moses bar Cepha.⁹⁸ He held that the five elements, fire, air, water, light, and darkness, had become, for some reason not given, commingled one with another; darkness tried to rise from its place below and

⁹⁷ Read ; see the parallel from *Ecclus.*, quoted p. 200.

⁹⁸ Translated into French by Nau, *op. cit.*, pp. 59–62.

The "abysses" are the vast gulfs of air, vapor, and fire, remnants of primeval chaos, which separate heaven from earth. It is a Jewish conception, but is found in this sense in Clement of Alexandria.¹⁰⁰ "'Abyss' is something the essential nature of which is unlimited, although limited by the power of God. So the material substances, from which the several genera and their species come, have been termed 'abysses,' for he would not have called water alone 'abyss.' And yet matter is allegorically described as 'water of the abyss.'" It is reasonably certain that this is a Gnostic, and probably it is a Valentinian definition, as Clement was largely influenced by that sect.¹⁰¹

As vv. 2-3^{a, b} describe the effect of the Dove's descent upon animals so 3^{c-e} and 4 describe its effect upon the abysses. They open as the Dove descends through them, probably to devour it,—they are "spurned," thrust aside. Verses 3^e and 4 describe the internecine strife of the elements in a vivid picture, and the effect of the divine influence upon them. Since the days of Heraclitus men had been familiar with the conception of the elements as consisting of opposites which, when brought into contact, mutually destroy one another, thus giving rise to the ceaseless round of transformations which we see.¹⁰² This is, perhaps, the aspect of Bardaisan's theory which Ephraem designates by the word **مخالف**, "opposing" or "conflicting" substances;¹⁰³ it is that which is expressed in the Book of the Laws by describing the "natures" as "injuring and injured from before

¹⁰⁰ *Ex Script. Proph. Eclogæ*, ed. Potter, ii., p. 990: ἀβυσσος γὰρ τὸ ἀπερά-
των κατὰ τὴν ὕλην ὑπόστασιν, περαιούμενον δὲ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Θεοῦ. αἱ τοίνυν
οὐσίαι ὕλικαί· ἀφ' ὧν τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους γένη καὶ τὰ τούτων εἶδη γίνονται, ἀβυσσοὶ
εἰρηγται· ἐπεὶ μόνον τὸ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἂν εἶπεν ἀβυσσον. καίτοι καὶ ὕδωρ ἀβυσσος
(ἀβύσσον;) ἡ ὕλη ἀλληγορεῖται.

¹⁰¹ So also in the Gnostic "Acts of Philip," the apostle prays just before
his death, "Come now, Jesus, and give me the eternal crown of victory over
every antagonistic principle and power, and let not their dark mist enwrap
me, that I may pass over the waters of fire and all the abyss." *Acta Phil.*,
Tisch., p. 93, *ap. Anz, op. cit.*, p. 40, n. 2; cf. also note 66.

¹⁰² *E. g. Arist. de gen. et corr.*, II., chapters iii. and iv. *Meteor.*, iv. 1.

¹⁰³ See above, p. 166.

the creation of the world."¹⁰⁴ But here the poet depicts it in a vivid image—the abysses have been engaged in devouring one another, they have been checked, they “cry to the Lord” in a state of agonized turmoil and confusion, “like women in travail.” But their cry is unheeded, “as is the Word’s work, such is his final end” (Ode xii. 7, p. 186); finally, the “abysses are sealed with the seal of the Lord,” or, in the words of the Book of the Laws, “this injuriousness¹⁰⁵ also which remains in them, shall be brought to an end by the restraints which are in another mixture.” The Ode proceeds: “They perished by His thought, those that had been of old,” which is almost a translation of Ecclesiasticus 43 23: λογισμῷ αὐτοῦ ἐκώπασεν ἄβυσσον; in Jerome’s translation: “cogitatione sua placavit abyssum,” and the idea is certainly the same. The confused and warring elements are brought to rest, their warfare stayed, by the thought or will of God. “They were corrupt¹⁰⁶ from the beginning, and the completion of their corruption¹⁰⁷ was life”—this present world must pass away to make way for a new heaven and a new earth.¹⁰⁸ “All defective things” must perish; so the Book of the Laws, “deficiencies will be filled up”;¹⁰⁹ “it was not possible to give them the Word that they might abide,” as in Ode xii. 4, the Word was given to the worlds. In vv. 8, 9, 10, the poet turns from the cosmological to the anthropological aspect of the work of the Word.

The chief difficulty of this Ode lies in the opening verses. The descent of the Dove is an event of such commanding import that even the dumb beasts recognize it.^{109a} This is a

¹⁰⁴ Note that the word “natures,” φύσεις, فطرت, is the correct technical term for the elements conceived as possessing active properties. Conceived as components they are στοιχεῖα.

¹⁰⁵ See p. 182.

¹⁰⁶ διεφθαρμένα (?).

¹⁰⁷ τὸ τέλος τῆς φθορᾶς (?).

¹⁰⁸ See p. 182, and Ode xxii. 11: “That everything might be dissolved and then renewed.”

¹⁰⁹ فمنهم من.

^{109a} Similar phenomena are described as attending Christ’s birth, Protev. Jac. 18, 2. See Duensing, *Zur 24^{ten} Ode Salomos ZNTW*, xii., p. 86.

Gnostic idea, for in the Valentinian system the divine Christ does not come to earth until the moment of the baptism. But the Dove here does not represent the Christ, for "the Messiah," *i.e.* the Christ, is "her head," her superior. Again an indication of the curious blending of orthodox and Gnostic ideas so characteristic of these Odes.

This same group of astrological conceptions affords a perfectly intelligible interpretation of that very difficult Ode, the 23d. As it offers no special difficulties of translation, I give merely a paraphrase. The "thought" or "will" of God which descends like a letter, is the Word descending to be born of the Virgin. "Many hands" of the Powers of the Spaces, the Abysses, rush to seize it,¹¹⁰ but the seal upon it protects it from them. It is received by a "wheel," the great "wheel of the Zodiac" (*ζωδιακὸς κύκλος*), which bears the seven planets to which in Ode xix. also the descending Christ is committed.¹¹¹ Upon the wheel is a "sign of the Kingdom and the Government," probably the Star of Bethlehem. At v. 12 the poet's prophetic eye looks forward from the moment at which the Word entered into the system of nature, here symbolized by the system of planets revolving in the Zodiac which, according to Bardaisan, govern the operations of mechanical law, to the more remote results of that stupendous event. The regeneration of the system of natural law inevitably carries with it the triumph of the Gospel; it sweeps away all obstacles and makes "a broad path." "The head went down to the feet, for down to the feet ran the wheel and that which was a sign upon it." "The head" ¹¹² is probably Christ as the Head of the Church

¹¹⁰ Compare the effect of the appearance of the Star upon the other stars in the passage from Ignatius quoted, p. 191.

¹¹¹ Porphyry, *de ant. nymph.* ch. 22, ascribes to the *θεόλογοι* a doctrine that descending souls enter the world through the Zodiac in the sign Cancer; departing souls ascend through Capricorn. But others of the *θεόλογοι* represent the souls as descending through the moon and ascending through the sun; *ibid.* ch. 29.

¹¹² xvii. 14: "They were to me as my own members, and I was their head." So in xlii. 18, when Christ descends into Sheol, Death lets go the "feet and the head," *i.e.* Christ and the dead who are to be saved.

— the conception of Christians as the body of Christ frequently recurs in the Odes — the feet are probably the souls in Sheol yet to be redeemed. The revolution of the wheel, which represents the operation of the Gospel under the forms of regenerated natural law, carries Christ there also.

I have, I think, established a certain degree of congruity between the doctrines of the Odes and those of Bardaisan. I am not aware of any demonstrable points of incongruity. It is, indeed, true that the doctrine of Free-will does not definitely appear in the Odes while it is one of the salient features of the Book of the Laws. But this is not, I think, an objection of any force. The poet's thoughts are dominated by the consciousness of the work of grace in his own heart and he has no special occasion to deal with Free-will as such. In only one passage is it, perhaps, implied: x. 3, "to convert the souls of them that were willing to come to Him." Nor is the doctrine of predestination, which is definitely taught in the Odes (*e.g.* viii. 14–22), incompatible with the theory that they are the work of Bardaisan, for believers in predestination are often advocates of Free-will. Bardaisan himself recognizes¹¹³ that Free-will subsists only by the sufferance of God and will prove no obstacle to the final regeneration of all things, and he also recognizes the existence of "tares," "who are not made for this grace."¹¹⁴ An ancient is not required to be more consistent than a modern theologian.

Another characteristic trait of Bardaisan's teaching was the denial of the resurrection of the body; this, indeed, is the doctrine to which Ephraem pays most attention. In one passage, xxii. 8–10, the poet describes the resurrection of the dry bones, and this Harnack takes as referring to the resurrection of the body; Batiffol objects that it is represented as already accomplished. I do not think this settles the question, for future events are frequently described in these Odes as accomplished. But the context is distinctly against a literal interpretation. The preceding verses speak of the bonds which Christ is to loose, of the dragon with seven heads, his roots, his seed, his poison, and in the following

¹¹³ See p. 181.

¹¹⁴ See p. 178.

verses we have the rock which is to be the foundation of all things. The presumption is that the clothing of the dry bones with flesh, obviously borrowed from Ezekiel, is also figurative. This presumption is strengthened by the passages which clearly do refer to the state of the redeemed. "I put off darkness and clothed myself with light and my soul acquired members free from pain, affliction or suffering" (xxi. 2); "in me there shall be nothing that is not bright, and I was clothed with the covering of Thy Spirit and Thou didst remove from me my raiment of skin" (xxv. 7^b, 8); "although a son of man, I was named the Illuminate, the son of God" (xxxvi. 3). These passages unquestionably point to the well-known doctrine, found in many Gnostic sects—and elsewhere—that the redeemed soul possesses a body of pure light, which is, of course, incompatible with the notion of corporeal resurrection. In a similar sense should be interpreted, "the traces of the light were set upon their heart" (x. 7^b). So Hippolytus in describing the Docetae says that they regarded souls as "the eternal marks (or imprints) left by the light when it shone from above down below."¹¹⁵ Saturnilus conceived of souls as sparks of light,¹¹⁶ and the eastern Valentinians used the same word—it is the Saviour's office "to awaken the soul and light the spark."¹¹⁷ The conception of a corporeal resurrection cannot, then, have found place in the poet's theology.

I have endeavored to show :

(1) That no antecedent improbability precludes the ascription of the Odes to Bardaisan.

(2) That some of the Odes can be readily interpreted in the light of Bardaisan's theories.

But before Bardaisan's authorship can be regarded as established it must be shown that all the Odes can be inter-

¹¹⁵ Hipp., *Ref.* viii. 10 (D. and S., p. 418. 23): . . . τοῖς κατελειμμένοις ἀνωθεν κάτω τοῦ φωτὸς αἰώνιοις χαρακτηῖται.

¹¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, vii. 28, p. 380. 56: ἔπεμψε σπινθήρα ζωῆς, ὃς διέγειρε τὸν ἀνθρώπου καὶ ζῆν ἐποίησε.

¹¹⁷ *Excerpta Theod.* 3, p. 967. 15, Potter: ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁ Σωτὴρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξύπνισεν, ἐξῆψεν δὲ τὸν σπινθήρα.

preted from the same point of view. To this task I shall not be able to address myself for many months to come, and I have therefore thought it best to make public my tentative results, as others have done, in the hope that they may be found to contain some elements of value to the ultimate solution of the problem.

JUNE 5, 1911.

For the following notes I am indebted to suggestions given me by Prof. Franz Cumont, who has been so kind as to read this paper in proof.

(See note 51.) The earlier astrologers termed planets "beneficent" and "maleficent" (Ptol.-Procl. I. 5); the later distinguished between the unalterable proper influence, *e.g.* warming, and the good or bad effects of that influence, which, although generally constant for a given planet, might be modified or transformed by circumstances (*ibid.*; cf. also Julius of Laodicea, Cat. cod. astr. IV. p. 105). But of the ascription of exclusively beneficent influences to "those on the right," etc., I have as yet found no other illustration.

(See note 52.) "High places" are *ὑψώματα*. "Their own degrees." The "degrees" are the "limits" (*δρια*).

The 30° of each sign are apportioned among the five planets and those appropriated to each are termed its "limits."

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1910

THE forty-sixth meeting of the Society was held in Room A, Union Theological Seminary, New York City, on Friday and Saturday, December 30th and 31st, 1910. The first session began at 11 A.M., President Lyon being in the Chair. The reading of the records of the last meeting was omitted, as they had been distributed in printed form. The Recording Secretary presented his financial statement, which was referred to Messrs. Montgomery and Peters as an Auditing Committee. The President appointed as the Nominating Committee President Brown, Professor Gottheil and Professor Paton. The report of the Corresponding Secretary, Professor Montgomery, was then presented and accepted. The Recording Secretary read his annual report, which was accepted. Professor Bewer and Professor Jackson reported, for the Committee of Arrangements, in regard to the social hours.

At 11.20 Professor Lyon gave the presidential address, on "Archæological Exploration in Palestine." At 12, Professor Prince read the Treasurer's report, which was referred to the Auditing Committee. Professor Paton then gave an address on "The Religion of the Canaanites." Professor Margolis read on "The Place of the Word-Accent in Hebrew." Professor Haupt commented on this paper. President Brown welcomed the members of the Society to Union Seminary, inviting them especially to inspect the Library and the Chapel. Adjourned for lunch and social hour.

Friday, p.m., December 30. Met at 2.10. Voted to limit each paper to twenty-five minutes. Professor Betteridge read "Notes on Isa. 7 and 8." This was discussed by Professors Haupt and Bewer.

At 2.35 Professor Gottheil gave orally the report of the American School of Oriental Study and Research in Palestine. From 2.45 to 5 papers were read and discussed as follows: By Professor Schmidt: "The Songs of the Conquest." By Professor Bacon: "The Resurrection in Tradition and Observance." By Professor Jastrow: *ממחרת השבת*. By Professor Genung: "The Meaning and Usage of *תושיה*." By Dr. Guthrie: "Familiar Echoes in the Gathas."

Adjourned for dinner and social hour.

Friday evening, December 30. Met at 8.10. Professor Montgomery reported for the Auditors that the accounts of the Treasurer and Secretary were correct and the vouchers satisfactory.

The Council reported that they had reelected Prof. J. A. Montgomery as Corresponding Secretary, and Prof. B. W. Bacon and Rev. W. H. Cobb as additional members of the Publishing Committee. They announced that the next meeting would be held in Columbia University, December 28th and 29th, 1911, the Committee of Arrangements being Professors Jackson, Prince, and Bewer. On nomination by the Council the following active members were elected:

Prof. Herbert C. Allemann, Gettysburg, Pa.
 Phillips Barry, M.A., Boston, Mass.
 Pres. Marion LeRoy Burton, D.D., Northampton, Mass.
 Henry J. Cadbury, Haverford, Pa.
 Prof. Henry Beach Carré, Nashville, Tenn.
 Prof. Camden M. Cobern, Meadville, Pa.
 Rev. A. W. Fismer, Ph.D., Bloomfield, N.J.
 Rev. M. J. Kyle, D.D., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Rev. Alex. B. Macleod, Millis, Mass.
 Prof. Conrad H. Moehlmann, Rochester, N.Y.
 Miss Ellen S. Ogden, Ph.D., Albany, N.Y.
 George V. Schick, Baltimore, Md.

From 8.15 to 9.15, papers were read and discussed as follows: By Professor Barton: "The Composition of Job 28-30." By Professor Haupt: "Joel's Poem on the Invasion of the Locusts." At 9.15 Professor Lyon gave an illustrated address on "Hebrew Ostraka found at Samaria in 1910." Several members then expressed emphatic appreciation of

the value of these discoveries; and a Committee was appointed consisting of Prof. B. W. Bacon, Prof. C. C. Torrey, and the Recording Secretary, to prepare a resolution on the subject.

Adjourned.

Saturday, a.m., December 31. Met at 9.20. In the absence of President and Vice-President, Professor Wood was chosen to take the Chair. The Council reported the following resolution, which was then unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we heartily indorse the petition of Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett of Cornell University to the Rockefeller Foundation for an appropriation sufficient to carry out a project for exploration and excavation in Asia Minor and Northern Syria.

President Brown, from the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of officers, who were then unanimously elected:—

Prof. E. D. Burton,	<i>President.</i>
Prof. L. B. Paton,	<i>Vice-President.</i>
Rev. W. H. Cobb,	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>
Prof. J. Dyneley Prince,	<i>Treasurer.</i>
Prof. H. P. Smith,	} <i>Associates</i>
Prof. I. F. Wood,	
Prof. W. R. Arnold,	
Prof. W. R. Betteridge,	
Prof. N. Schmidt,	} <i>in</i>
Pres. James A. Kelso,	
Pres. Mary E. Woolley,	
Prof. W. J. Moulton.	
	} <i>To represent the Society</i>
	<i>on the</i>
	<i>Palestine School.</i>

It was then voted that the thanks of the Society be returned to Union Theological Seminary and to the Committee of Arrangements for the accommodations provided for this meeting.

From 9.25 to 10.30, papers were read and discussed as follows: By Professor Peters, "Gen. 1 2, *l.c.*" By Professor Bewer: "Some Ancient Hebrew Variants with Scribes' or Correctors' Marks." By Professor Haupt, "Selah." (Professor Haupt also made a few remarks on the Jewish Calendar.) By Prof. G. F. Wright: "Geological Light on the

Bodies of Water referred to under the title Lišân, in Joshua 15 2. 5." During the reading of these papers, the President arrived and took the Chair. Professor Bacon reported the following Minute, which was then unanimously adopted :

The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis has followed with keen interest the Harvard excavations in Samaria, which have already yielded results of inestimable worth. As American citizens we feel an honorable pride in these achievements; and our gratitude to all who have made them possible mingles with the ardent hope that it may not become necessary to abandon a scientific enterprise so full of promise.

From 11.15 to 1, papers were read and discussed as follows: By Professor Torrey: "The Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews." By Professor Montgomery: "Some Lexical Notes to the Old Testament." By Professor Clay: "The Pronunciation of the Ineffable Name." By Professor Barton: "The Cradle Land of the Story of Job."

Adjourned at 1 P.M.

WILLIAM H. COBB,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF FUNDS IN HANDS OF RECORDING SECRETARY

Receipts

Balance, Dec. 24, 1909	\$187 39
Sales of Journal for the year	228 40
Sales of offprints	12 00
Annual dues	3 00
	<hr/>
	\$430 79
	<hr/>

Disbursements

1910

Jan. 1, Thomas Todd, printing programmes	7 45
Feb. 2, Distributing Journal of 1909, part 2	18 00
Feb. 21, Berwick & Smith, presswork, Journal of 1909, part 2	67 40
July 18, Insurance on volumes in Boston	10 20
Aug. 11, Distributing Journal of 1910, part 1	18 00
Sept. 6, Berwick & Smith, presswork of 1910, part 1	103 01
Sept. 28, Berwick & Smith, additional for binding offprints	1 15
Nov. 8, Distributing Journal of 1910, part 2	18 00
Dec. 1, Berwick & Smith, presswork, Journal of 1910, part 2	87 94
Dec. 1, Thomas Todd, printing envelopes	2 00
Dec. 29, Postage, expressage and exchange for the year	9 94
Balance, in Old Colony Trust Co., Boston	87 70
	<hr/>
	\$430 79
	<hr/>

Audited, and found correct.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, }
JOHN P. PETERS, } *Auditors.*

ANNUAL REPORT

OF

THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE
AND EXEGESIS*December, 1909, to December, 1910*

Receipts

1910

Jan. 1, Carried forward	\$ 541 25
Dues	576 00
Initiations	104 00
Total	<u>\$1221 25</u>

Disbursements

1909

Dec. 29, Dr. Cobb	16 00
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1910

Jan. 14, Columbia janitor	2 50
Feb. 11, J. S. Cushing Co., vol. xxviii, pt. 2	259 00
Aug. 20, J. S. Cushing Co., vol. xxix, pt. 1	439 55
Nov. 16, J. S. Cushing Co., vol. xxix, pt. 2	353 30
Nov. 24, Dr. Bewer	22 55
Dec. 10, Dr. Montgomery	13 25
Cash in hand	115 10
Total	<u>\$1221 25</u>

Respectfully submitted Dec. 30, 1910.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, *Treasurer.*

Audited, and found correct, Dec. 30, 1910.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, } *Auditors.*
JOHN P. PETERS, }

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¹ This list has been corrected up to Oct. 14, 1911. Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary of any change of address.

² The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

CONSTITUTION

I

THIS association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council,

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, for the purpose of presentation, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of \$1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

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